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Child Labor in Massachusetts

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THE Massachusetts Child Labor Committee, which is responsible for this publication, was organized in 1908 and incorporated under the laws of the Commonwealth in 1920. Its purposes are stated in the charter as follows: "To raise the standards of public opinion concerning the welfare of children; to aid working children to secure further education, improved health and good recreation; to protect children against premature or otherwise injurious employment; to improve the conditions under which children are employed."

The directorate of the Committee is composed of Grafton D. Cushing, Chairman; Frank Leveroni, Vice-Chairman; Charles F. Bradley, Treasurer; Miss Esther G. Barrows, Dr. Merrill E. Champion, Richard K. Conant, Roy M. Cushman, Mrs. Edward C. Mason, Rev. George P. O'Conor, Mrs. George W. Perkins, Rev. Malcolm Taylor, and Mrs. Philip E. Tripp. The offices are at Six Beacon Street, Boston.

CHILD LABOR IN MASSACHUSETTS

An Inquiry Under the Auspices of the

MASSACHUSETTS CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE

By

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and

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FOREWORD

Child-labor reform is an integral part of all social effort to safeguard and promote the welfare of boys and girls. The boundaries between child-labor reform and other kinds or phases of child-welfare work are not clearly marked. Nevertheless, as this report shows, the problem of child labor still presents its own challenge—in Massachusetts, as in the rest of the country.

It may be said with due deliberation that the problem in many respects is more serious as well as more difficult in the so-called advanced states than in the so-called backward states. In the latter the next steps are rather obvious, while the former have reached the stage where the way of wisdom is less easy to discover and follow. Although in Massachusetts the child-labor laws are comparatively advanced and little new legislation is needed, there remains much to be devised to co-ordinate child labor and child welfare. This co-ordination demands in large measure the qualities of courage and caution, of intelligence and good will.

The present report, though sponsored by the Massachusetts Child Labor Committee, is not to be taken, word by word, as an official pronouncement of policy and programme. On certain points, however, the views of the Committee are explicitly set forth, while in other matters, suggestions of a tentative character are offered. The data contained in the report are such as the Committee is continually gathering and analyzing in its capacity as informational agency. In the interpretation of this material and the discus-

sion of its significances the authors have been accorded entire freedom of expression. They have written without any of that dogmatism and intolerance which so often attaches to the treatment of a controversial subject. Adherence to the essential aims of child-labor reform allows, indeed, for wide variations of opinion and procedure, and requires but the bond of a common desire to serve childhood. Even controversy may be creatively utilized in developing the means and methods of this service.

There is reason to believe that the study here reported will prove interesting and valuable beyond the confines of Massachusetts, since it deals with questions of vital concern to the people of other states and of the nation. It represents one of the first attempts since the defeat of the Federal Child-Labor Amendment to restate the principles underlying the reform movement and to indicate its opportunities and prospects. At the same time, by analysis of the situation in an advanced state, it reveals the incompleteness of the social task at the stage where it is erroneously conceived as practically finished. The final stage may not be long in duration, but it is big with obligation.

GRAFTON D. CUSHING

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CHAPTER ONE

VIEWPOINTS AND INTERPRETATIONS

Where does Massachusetts stand today in child-labor reform, and what are the unfinished tasks? These questions are of peculiar interest both because of the comparatively advanced stage which child-labor reform has reached in this Commonwealth, and because of the recent nation-wide expression of public opinion in favor of leaving the responsibility for protective legislation entirely to the several states.

This report aims to set forth the salient facts about child-labor conditions and problems in Massachusetts, without attempt to paint the situation as either bad or good. Its function may be likened to an account of stock or a statement of assets and liabilities. It is essentially a summary and collation of available data from a variety of scattered sources, with some interpretative comment.

Statement by the Governor

The spirit and underlying thought of this report reflect the attitude of the Massachusetts Child Labor Committee, by members of whose staff it has been prepared. In a letter addressed "To Whom It May Concern," Governor Alvan T. Fuller has admirably expressed the guiding aims and conceptions of the one organization in the state which is specially concerned with the many and varied problems of the working child. He says:

"The Massachusetts Child Labor Committee ad-

vocates the right of children to suitable play, suitable work and suitable schooling, preliminary to the entrance into occupational life; and by its effort to see that children and young persons, when they do go to work in the gainful occupations, shall be secured against undue hazards to life and limb, health and morals, and shall continue to receive training and education in connection with their work, is rendering constructive service to the Commonwealth.

"Its recognition and emphasis of the fact that work is not bad in itself, but that the working life of boys and girls, both before and after leaving school, needs to be safeguarded and guided in the interest of the child himself, is especially to be commended. The Committee is engaged in a movement for the protection of work, as well as of children, and for the adequate preparation for, and adjustment to, occupational life.

"Because of its positive point of view and constructive effort, and its belief that the accomplishment of its great task is by no means wholly a matter of laws, but largely of good will and accumulating knowledge on the part of men and women, it deserves the approval and support of all those who desire to conserve and develop the most precious resources that Massachusetts can boast—her children."

Scope of Reform Program

Since the aim of child-labor reform is not an unoccupied but a well-occupied childhood, the fulfillment of that purpose demands the recognition and use of other than merely legislative methods and measures,

even those of constructive character. A valid and comprehensive program for dealing with child labor and achieving its disappearance calls for consideration not only of what child labor does to some children, but of what society ought to do for all children. A society that does consistently and completely what it ought to do for all children will have no child-labor problem. The child-labor problem that now confronts us will be solved when the substitutes for child labor have taken its place. The method of prohibition is important, the method of prevention is more important, but the method of substitution is the most important of all.

It is worth emphasizing that premature school-leaving is the other side of premature going-to-work. The chief causes of early, and often premature, school-leaving are poverty (with near-poverty) and dissatisfaction with school. All measures, whether legislative or not, that tend to prevent poverty or to lift its burdens from particular families, are aids to child-labor reform. The work of family-welfare organizations, the public grants of financial assistance to dependent mothers, the establishment of scholarship funds which make it possible for children to remain in school who otherwise would be obliged to leave and go to work—these are items in the preventive program. All measures, whether legislative or not, which improve the schools and enhance their holding power, which make them as vital and varied as children themselves at the time when so many boys and girls begin to get tired or discontented and to look forward to something different, or which extend the services of educational

and vocational guidance—these, too, are aids in the program of prevention.

The provision, by voluntary parental and community effort, of the substitutes for child labor, including suitable play, suitable work and suitable schooling, as actual opportunities in the lives of children, is a principal aim of child-labor reform; it is also a method, the method of overcoming evil with good. The substitutional program includes the development of home chores and like activities. Club work (such as that represented by the boys' and girls' agricultural clubs and the Junior Achievement League in certain cities) is another line of progress in meeting the work needs of children. Schools can help in many ways by joining up closer with the home. They can also help by joining up closer with industry, but on the terms of the child's own education and welfare rather than the profits or convenience of employers. Trade and industrial schools are important, and especially part-time co-operative and continuation schools. Blind-alley occupations may be opened up, so that they will cease to be blind alleys, although the fact should be borne in mind that a blind alley often depends on other factors than those inherent in the job itself.

The many tasks of child-labor reform call for the co-operation of numerous agencies and the employment of varied methods, as well as for a more intelligent and reasonable attitude toward children and youth. The agency primarily responsible for the welfare of the child is the private family home. There are other agencies concerned with child welfare: the church, which is the original source of secular edu-

cation and modern social service, as well as religious training; the school, which represents the ideal of universal popular education; the social settlement; the public playground; various civic and social organizations, such as women's clubs, Rotary and Kiwanis Clubs; and the political units from the school district, the village and town, up through county and state to the nation. But the function of all these varied agencies, public and private, in relation to the home and the child, is to aid or supplement the former in the interest of the latter, and not to supplant the home.

In the complicated life of today the home alone is not able to provide children with all the protection and education which they need. There are, moreover, homes of weakness—homes of poverty or ignorance—that need to be helped and strengthened so that they may do their duty to the children. There are some that need to be compelled to do certain things, and some that need to be restrained from doing certain other things. These compulsions and restrictions are established as sound law by judicial decisions involving such matters as cruelty, abuse and neglect, and by legislation involving school attendance and child labor. The school-attendance and child-labor laws of the states are enacted under the authority of *parens patriae,* or guardianship, a branch of the police power. Under this authority the legislature may abridge parental, property and other rights in the necessary interest of child and society, but not beyond the point which the courts may regard as reasonably calculated to preserve and protect the public safety, health, morals and welfare.

The place of the private family home in civilization is basic, and so it is in child-labor reform. As much as possible of the task of child-labor reform should be left to the home, and efforts should be directed, not merely through legislation, but otherwise, toward making the home freer of ignorance and poverty and therefore freer to understand and serve the needs of children as children and as future adults. Something can be done for child-labor prevention by teaching parents and children the value of schooling, and by making schooling more valuable than it is today for a large percentage of boys and girls, so that it will appeal convincingly both to children and their parents as thoroughly worth while. Appreciation of the child's need of wholesome, abundant play, and of recreation for relief from the strains of school work or industrial employment, may be set down as one of the obligations of parenthood; likewise, a clearer sense of essential difference between child labor and children's work. The spreading knowledge of child and adolescent psychology is of value here. It should be borne in mind that parents are also citizens, with civic responsibilities which should be the more enlightened by reason of their own parenthood.

The solution of the child-labor problem is partly a matter of higher standards of living and higher ideals both of family and of community life. These depend to a considerable extent on the economic situation of family and community; but child labor may flourish, and indeed does flourish, in the midst of plenty. The solution, from this standpoint, is not a matter alone of power to provide children with the

things they ought to have, but is also a matter of knowing what they need and of willingness, nay, eagerness, to provide it at all costs. It is not so much a matter of economic income as it is of spiritual outgo. Unless the needs of children are understood and highly regarded, children may receive stones instead of bread, even where prosperity is boasted. When understanding of their needs, in both their individual and their social significance, and the spirit of child service, which is also social service, shall characterize the universal standard of living, of family, local community, and the larger communities of state and nation, there will be less occasion for laws. There will also be better laws.

A Positive, Not Negative Movement

The child-labor movement, as a purely negative movement, is of limited significance and value; but it is not a purely negative movement. It is rightly to be conceived and carried on more broadly, as a vital and necessary part of the general movement for child welfare. This involves, of course, the movement (not yet consummated) for better schools, and more children in the schools, staying longer and getting more out of the schools while they do stay. Other parts of the general movement are the play movement, to which we have already referred, and the children's-work movement, which we have seen to be exemplified in the agricultural and achievement clubs, and the provision for manual and vocational training in the schools, including the continuation schools.

All three of these movements are educational movements, taking education in the true sense that

represents the principle of growth operative in self-creative activity and experience related to actual life. The true antithesis of child labor is education; not only because child labor interferes with schooling, but because it fails to yield the educational values found in suitable play and suitable work. "For everything that is growing," said Horace Mann long ago, "one former is worth a hundred re-formers."

The conservation and development of the educational values of work, and of the work impulses, interests, and capacities of children, both before they leave school and after they enter occupational life, is a vital concern of child-labor reform. This is, indeed, child-labor reform, which desires to see restored, under modern conditions, the close relationship between education and occupation that subsisted when home and local community were economically self-sufficing units and the child obtained most of his education through observation of, and participation in, the everyday activities of family and neighborhood. It is engaged in promoting the establishment of such modern substitutes for the old apprenticeship as the vocational courses and schools, and especially the part-time cooperative and continuation schools. It seeks to assure a suitable relationship in industry between child and job, and for this looks to the further development of educational and vocational guidance. It would help the child not only to find his work but to find himself in his work. The greatest vocation of all is life, and the ultimate employer is society.

Child Labor Versus Children's Work

In order to avoid possible misunderstanding of statements and discussions in the pages that follow, it may be well to emphasize a few distinctions in terminology. Highly desirable is a better term than "child labor" to indicate the thing to which we are opposed, and for which we wish to see substituted the activities, experiences and opportunities which rightfully belong to children. Child labor is not necessarily the same thing as child employment in the gainful occupations. Child labor and child employment may coincide in many instances, and overlap in certain respects; but they are not identical, they are two separate categories. Census statistics of child labor are concerned with children engaged in the so-called gainful occupations, and so are child-labor laws. There is child labor outside the limits of gainful occupations, and accordingly outside the terms of child-labor laws, for it is not a matter to be determined by such means of measurement as chronological age or the earning of wages.

A distinction should be drawn, too, between *child labor* and *children's work*. It is one of the tragedies of modern life that hosts of children, especially in our cities, are growing up without the training and experience of those suitable work activities which should be a vital and important part of their upbringing and education. Children should learn to work before they "go" to work. We have in mind, particularly, their participation in household tasks and duties, and in the work activities afforded, as already mentioned, by membership in the boys' and girls' agricul-

tural clubs in the country and in the Junior Achievement League in the cities. The work activities thus rendered available involve purpose, plan, and freedom on the part of the worker. This freedom, essential to the educative process, does not consist so much in doing what one likes as in liking what one does because it is meaningful and, in Dewey's phrase, "engages the self."

Healthful and educational work for children (of which, unfortunately, too little is available, especially in the so-called gainful occupations) is not to be condemned as child labor, unless it interferes unduly with other, and often more valuable opportunities, such as those afforded in schools that are well adapted to child nature. The condition of child labor in gainful employment is not always created by the occupation itself, but often by the failure to recognize and meet the peculiar health and educational requirements of the individual child. Much of what is now necessarily included in the category of child labor can eventually be changed into suitable children's work by changing its character, its environment, giving it new possibilities of training and advancement, and of personality development.

Historical Retrospect

There has always been child labor in one form or another, ever since there has been opportunity for abuse of the labor power of boys and girls. The evil did not become socially acute, however, until the change was made from the home to the factory system of production and from an agricultural economy to a

dominantly urbanized mode of life. This is not to say that child labor is entirely confined today to factories and cities, for it presents some of its most serious aspects under industrialized forms of agriculture, notably in the beet fields of the middle west. [1]

In colonial New England every member of the artisan or farmer family was busily employed, and every home was, in a sense, a manufactory. In the eighteenth century women and children were extensively engaged in the manufacture of cloth at home. The pioneer factories were textile factories, and in the early part of the nineteenth century women and children were the most numerous class of operatives. Children were working away from home, though at first to a large extent in company with one or both parents. This condition rapidly changed to one under which children took independent status as a cheap labor supply.

In 1832 a committee of the New England Association of Farmers, Mechanics, and Other Working Men reported that two-fifths of all the persons employed in New England factories were children between

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[1] National Child Labor Committee, New York City: "People Who Go To Beets," "Child Labor in the Sugar Beet Fields of Michigan," "Children Working in the Sugar Beet Fields of the North Platte Valley of Nebraska," "Child Labor in the Sugar Beet Fields of Colorado." United States Children's Bureau, Department of Labor, Washington: "Child Labor in Fruit and Hop-growing Districts of the Northern Pacific Coast," Publication Number 151; "Child Labor in Representative Tobacco-growing Areas," Publication Number 155; "Child Labor in North Dakota," Publication Number 129; "Child Labor on Maryland Truck Farms," Publication Number 123; "Welfare of Children in Cotton-growing Areas of Texas," Publication Number 134.

seven and sixteen years of age, and that the hours of labor were from daylight to eight in the evening. [1]

At present, in Massachusetts, children under 16 constitute only 2.7 per cent of the total employed force in mills, factories and workshops, while the workday is limited by law to eight hours. This is but a suggestion of the great contrast between the beginning and the end of a hundred-year period, during which conditions grew worse in many respects, but during the last quarter of which they have rapidly and vastly improved.

In this state the tasks of child-labor reform are still unfinished, but to Massachusetts is due a large measure of credit and praise for its initiation and accomplishment in this field. As Professor Forest Ensign says: "In certain respects other states have passed beyond Massachusetts in the protection of children, yet almost every advance in the progressive development of child labor laws and compulsory measures for the education of the masses in America may be traced to this commonwealth, or to people whose ideals were shaped within her borders." [2]

In Massachusetts the American public school system was born. In Massachusetts the first child-labor law in America was passed (1836). In Massachusetts was passed the first compulsory school-attendance law (1852) providing that all children between eight and 14 years of age be required by their parents to

[1] Ensign, Forest C.: "Compulsory School Attendance and Child Labor," p. 38. Published by the Athens Press, Iowa City, Iowa.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 85.

attend a public school for at least 12 weeks in every year, six of these weeks to be consecutive. It should be understood that these enactments were preceded, beginning in colonial times, by various educational provisions under the apprenticeship and poor laws. Compulsory attendance at publicly supported schools, with freedom of the child from labor during the school periods, are principles which do not appear in legislation until well along in the nineteenth century. In Massachusetts the Douglas Commission of 1905 made the first extensive study of education in relation to industry, as a basis of state policy. Here, in the pioneer activities of the late Frank Parsons, the vocational-guidance movement had its beginning about 1907.

But Massachusetts has never been satisfied merely with undertaking new enterprises, it has developed them and therefore kept well in the forefront of progress in all that pertains to the protection and education of children. The Act of 1836 merely required that children between 12 and 15 years of age in factories attend school at least three months in each year. In 1842 a limitation of 10 hours a day was placed on employment of children under 12 in factories, and in 1866 an age limit of 10 years was placed on factory employment. By 1900 the statutes contained a general prohibition of employment of children under 14 in stores, factories, and workshops, with special provisions prohibiting the work of older children in certain occupations regarded as physically and morally dangerous. Hours of labor for children between 14 and 18 were limited to 10 a day and 58 a week. Night

work was restricted. Something had been done toward establishing an effective system of administration and enforcement.

Recent Legislative Gains

But most of the standards incorporated in our present child-labor law have been adopted in the last twenty years, many of them in the last decade. In 1910 it was enacted that children under 16 must be physically examined before going to work. In 1911, because of the harmful and immoral conditions found among boys in the night messenger service, the legislature forbade such work for boys under 21 years of age. In the following year, sweatshop industries were closed to children under 14.

The year 1913 saw many important new enactments, with a general codification of the child-labor law. The hours of labor of children under 16 were reduced to eight a day and 48 a week, and the night-work restrictions were strengthened. A street trades law, revised and extended in 1921 was secured. The employment of children in any hazardous work was prohibited to persons under 16 and the lists of occupations prohibited to children 16 and under 18 were extended, and the State Board of Labor and Industries given authority to add to these lists.

School attendance of all children up to the age of 16, if not lawfully employed, was made compulsory, and legislation was enacted permitting establishment of continuation schools, and requiring attendance of employed minors at such schools for four hours each week. This legislation was further developed in 1919,

when establishment of such schools was made obligatory in all towns and cities where 200 or more minors between 14 and 16 years of age had been employed in the previous year. In the same year, the hours of labor for minors under 18 were reduced to nine a day and 48 a week, and the educational qualification for employment certificates was raised from the fourth to (nominally) the sixth grade, though it was two years later when it was made to embrace all the requirements for completion of the sixth grade.

Legislative advances and development of activities and services in various departments of the whole broad field of social welfare have contributed directly or indirectly to improvement of the child-labor situation.

CHAPTER TWO

STATISTICAL BACKGROUND

In 1920, according to the United States decennial census, 104,445 boys and girls 10 to 17 years of age (inclusive) were employed in gainful occupations in Massachusetts. Of these, 33,723 were under 16 years of age, while 1,431 were under 14. (The occupational census takes no account of children under 10 years of age.)

Volume of Employment

The present number of gainfully employed children [1] in the Commonwealth, on a census basis, can be only a matter of estimate. Certain facts tend to indicate an increase since 1920, others a decrease; but allowing for the fluctuation of employment conditions affecting children, it is probable that there has been no radical change in the general situation, in either direction.

Census figures are hardly to be regarded as accurate to the last digit. The census always underestimates the number of children in the seasonal trades and industries (including agriculture), in the street trades, and probably in some of the other occupational groups and sub-groups.

Under the heading, "farm laborers working out"

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[1] In the Massachusetts statutes "child" is defined as "a person under 18."

(not on the home farm), some hundreds of boys and girls employed in the tobacco and onion fields of western Massachusetts during the summer months are not included. According to the 1920 census (as of January 1) the number of newsboys 10 to 17 years of age in the entire state was 794, but the number 12 to 15 years of age holding licenses on that date was 3,368 in Boston alone. The census gave 79 as the number of bootblacks 10 to 17 years of age in the whole state, but at the same time Boston had 371 licensed bootblacks under 16 years of age.

Comparison of census figures from 1880 to 1920, covering a period of 40 years, shows that the number of employed children 10 to 15 years of age in Massachusetts has increased, while the percentage of employed children in this age group has decreased:

TABLE I

NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF EMPLOYED CHILDREN 10 TO 15 YEARS OF AGE COMPARED WITH TOTAL NUMBER OF THIS AGE GROUP IN MASSACHUSETTS (United States Census)

Year in Which Census was Taken	Total Number of Children 10 to 15 Years Old in Specified Years	Children Employed in Specified Years	
		Number	Per Cent
1880	192,243	21,368	11.2
1900	274,557	27,868	10.2
1920	394,026	33,723	8.6

In the United States, comparing the census figures of 1910 and those of 1920, there was a decrease dur-

ing the decade of 46.7 per cent in the number of gainfully employed children 10 to 15 years old. In Massachusetts there was an increase of 3 per cent, Massachusetts being one of five states (Arizona, 62.0; Connecticut, 1.7; New Jersey, 0.9; Rhode Island, 6.1) to show an increase. During the decade the total population of this age group increased 15.5 per cent in the country at large, and 15.9 per cent in Massachusetts.

The decrease for the country at large in number of employed children is largely to be attributed to a 54.8 per cent reduction in the number reported as employed in agricultural and kindred pursuits. [1] The increase in Massachusetts took place chiefly in the manufacturing and mechanical industries, the clerical occupations, and transportation. Excluding agricultural occupations from the reckoning, child employment in the country at large decreased 25.9 per cent in the decade as compared with a four per cent increase in Massachusetts. As against a decrease of 29 per cent in children employed in manufacturing and mechanical industries in the United States, Massachusetts registered an increase of 9.8 per cent in this group of occupations, Massachusetts having the largest numerical increase among the six states having any increase.

The following table, showing percentage of children 10 to 15 years of age gainfully employed, takes

[1] This reduction was due largely to stricter instructions given to census enumerators. These instructions were that "'gainful occupation' when applied to children, includes the occupations of all child workers except those working at home, merely on general household work, on chores, or at odd times on other work."

account of changes in the child population:

TABLE II

PERCENTAGE OF GAINFULLY EMPLOYED CHILDREN 10 TO 15 YEARS OF AGE IN UNITED STATES AND IN MASSACHUSETTS (United States Census)

Year in Which Census Was Taken	Per Cent of Children Employed in Specified Years	
	United States	Massachusetts
1910	18.4	9.6
1920	8.5	8.6

It will be noted that for 1920 the percentage of gainfully employed children in Massachusetts slightly exceeds the percentage in the United States as a whole.

While, in the country at large, 61 per cent of the employed children 10 to 15 years of age are engaged in agricultural pursuits, the percentage for Massachusetts is 2.5 per cent. The percentages in manufacturing and mechanical occupations are 17.5 per cent for the country at large and 70.4 per cent for Massachusetts. The percentages in all other occupations together are 21.5 per cent for the United States and 27.1 per cent for Massachusetts. We have here a relatively high amount of urban and industrial child employment, with a relatively small amount of employment in agriculture. This is, indeed, an urban and industrial state.

In only six states (including Massachusetts) are more than 50 per cent of the working children engaged in the manufacturing and mechanical industries. The Massachusetts percentage of 70.4 is exceeded only by Rhode Island with 81.4. After Massachusetts come

Connecticut, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, New York, Wisconsin, Maine, Illinois, and Maryland, in the order named.

In these industries, in Massachusetts, there are (according to the census) 366 workers 10 to 13 years of age, and 23,753 workers 10 to 15. In the textile industries, there are 132 workers 10 to 13 years old, and 12,078 workers 10 to 15. Of children 14 years old there are 4,617, and of children 15 years old, 7,329. Of the workers under 16 in the manufacturing and mechanical industries generally, 12,123 are boys and 11,630 are girls; in the textile industries, 5,580 boys and 6,498 girls.

The proportion of employed children 10 to 15 years of age to total number of children of these ages, is 6.3 per cent in all cities of the United States having a total population of 25,000 to 100,000. Eleven Massachusetts cities in this population group exceed this percentage: Brockton, Chelsea, Chicopee, Fitchburg, Haverhill, Holyoke, Lawrence, Pittsfield, Salem, Taunton, and Waltham.

The proportion of children 10 to 15 years of age employed in cities of 100,000 or over in the United States is 6.3 per cent. Boston, Cambridge, Fall River, Lowell, New Bedford, Springfield, and Worcester all exceed this proportion. Fall River (with 18.5 per cent) and New Bedford (with 17.1 per cent) have a larger proportion than any other of the large cities of the United States.

Fluctuations of Child Employment

Subsequent to 1920, there are no statistics of

child employment comparable with those of the census taken in that year; but figures for certification of minors complying with the legal requirements for working papers are of significance.

In Massachusetts, according to figures furnished by the State Department of Education, the number of different children 14 and 15 years of age employed regularly within each successive calendar year from 1919 to 1925 is as follows:

TABLE III

NUMBER OF 14-YEAR AND 15-YEAR-OLD CHILDREN EMPLOYED DURING SUCCESSIVE YEARS IN MASSACHUSETTS

Year of Employment	Number of Children Employed in Specified Years		
	In State	In Towns with Continuation Schools	In Other Towns
1919	50,774	43,452	7,322
1920	43,368	36,329	7,039
1921	42,651	36,886	5,765
1922	41,898	36,317	5,581
1923	45,956	38,472	7,384
1924	38,262	32,225	6,037
1925	38,265	32,054	6,211

It will be noted that the totals have fluctuated considerably from year to year. They dropped sharply from 1919 to 1920, continued down, climbed back until in 1923 they exceeded the figures for 1920, then dropped back again.

The following table shows how child employment has fluctuated in leading industrial cities of Massachusetts in successive years from 1919 to 1925, inclusive.

TABLE IV

NUMBER OF 14-YEAR AND 15-YEAR-OLD CHILDREN EMPLOYED IN TWENTY INDUSTRIAL CITIES[1]

Cities in Which Children Were Employed	Number of Children Employed in Specified Cities in Calendar Year of—							Increase or Decrease in Amount of Child Employment in Specified Cities, 1919-1925
	1919	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924	1925	
Adams	321	320	443	446	450	234	408	+87
Boston	11807	6836	9443	8807	7999	7970	7829	—3978
Brockton	855	618	396	502	597	235	247	—608
Cambridge	1921	1912	1226	974	1092	792	896	—1025
Chicopee	462	706	626	643	852	420	339	—123
Fall River	3475	3054	3981	3640	3829	3618	3395	—80
Fitchburg	331	396	356	440	305	211	291	—40
Holyoke	1246	1060	1425	1604	1481	1186	1103	—143
Lawrence	2689	1575	2356	2176	2354	1391	1239	—1450
Leominster	261	330	227	404	422	411	343	+82
Lowell	1806	1193	1649	1643	1727	1675	1401	—405
Ludlow	257	326	251	401	593	415	349	+92
Lynn	540	915	446	366	431	486	469	—71
Marlboro	234	224	246	191	316	357	364	+130
New Bedford	3008	973	2630	2626	2847	2768	2767	—241
North Adams	455	943	573	321	403	315	293	—162
Pittsfield	353	490	377	330	462	441	411	+58
Springfield	1684	1944	1090	1067	1335	831	1179	—505
Taunton	619	946	700	702	867	682	710	+91
Worcester	1632	2599	1757	1967	2061	1512	1654	+22

[1] Figures furnished by State Department of Education.

It is difficult to draw general conclusions as to the tendency of child employment in Massachusetts. The year 1919 was undoubtedly a year of abnormally high employment of children, due largely to the continuing effects of the war period. The years 1924 and 1925

were undoubtedly years of low employment, at least in certain industries and certain cities. But what is a normal amount of child employment, the available facts and figures do not disclose, nor do they indicate what may be the amount of child employment in 1926.

The fact of rapid fluctuations of child employment, locally and in the state as a whole, over a very wide range of variation, is, however, entirely clear; and this is the real significance of the tables. The instability of child employment, with its ups and downs, its cyclical movements, is by no means an unimportant aspect of the child-labor problem—quite as important, indeed, as the instability of child workers.

It appears from the records of the last seven years that from 38,000 to 51,000 different children 14 and 15 years old are at work on regular employment certificates in the course of a year; but this, it should be noted, is not the number at work at a given time. The latest published report of the State Department of Education gives an accounting of children as of date April 1, 1925, indicating that of approximately 139,000 boys and girls 14 and 15 years of age in the state, about 20,000 or 14 per cent were regularly employed at that time. This does not include newsboys and others working outside of schools hours or during vacations.

The report of the Special Committee on School and Age Requirements, of the Massachusetts Superintendents' Association, referring to the school year 1924-1925, says: "The total number of minors (14 and 15) out of school and in employment *at any one time*

during the school year just closed (a year of great unemployment) was in the neighborhood of 20,000." [1] Of these, approximately 7,000 were 14 years old, and 13,000 were 15. "This would yield," says the Superintendents' Committee, "a total of about 30,000 different minors involved in the given school year, 1924-1925."

The number of children involved in the manifold problems relating to child employment, and affected by the various services rendered to working children, should be considered from the standpoint of a long period of years, during which a continual succession of boys and girls leave school and enter the gainful occupations. In a decade the number must be at least 200,000 here in Massachusetts. This is a conservative estimate on the basis of an average of 40,000 different boys and girls in employment each year and a complete change of the group every two years.

The foregoing figures refer only to children of 14 and 15. Older boys and girls benefit by protective legislation respecting hours of labor, night work, extra-hazardous occupations, and so forth, as well as by the educational and health services of the schools, rendered before they leave.

It should also be mentioned that the certification figures here cited take no account of the children certificated for employment on days when schools are not in session, on holidays, or during vacations (3,682 in the calendar year 1925), or minors certifi-

[1] Massachusetts Superintendents' Association: "Report of the Committee on School and Age Requirements," p. 8.

cated for employment outside of school hours (5,874 in the same year). The former group comprises children of 14 and 15 years who have not completed the sixth grade; the latter, those who are educationally qualified to obtain regular certificates but are remaining in school. Nor do certification figures include the children between 12 and 16 years of age licensed to practice street trades (as newsboys, bootblacks, vendors) while still at school. In the city of Boston, on December 15, 1925, the number of such licensed minors, 3,574, was almost equal to the number of children between 14 and 16 engaged in regular employment and attending the continuation school, this number being 3,766 on this date.

Facts Regarding School Attendance

Educational opportunity is a correlative aim of child-labor reform, hence facts and figures relating to school enrollment and attendance may be cited.

According to a report of the United States Bureau of Education[1] 698,268 persons or 17.6 per cent of the total population of Massachusetts are enrolled in the public schools, although the percentage for the United States as a whole is 21.3 per cent. Massachusetts ranks forty-third among the states in this respect.

From the same source, we learn that in Massachusetts 77 per cent of the school population 5 to 17 years of age, inclusive, is enrolled in the public schools. Massachusetts ranks thirty-fifth among the states in this respect. The percentage for the United States as

[1] United States Bureau of Education: "Biennial Survey of Education," 1920-1922. Volume II, pp. 37-42.

a whole is 81.2. It must be remembered, however, that 139,154 persons in this state are enrolled in private and parochial schools, which number is exceeded only by Illinois with 195,552, while the proportion of children enrolled in private and parochial schools among children enrolled in all schools is 16.5 per cent in Massachusetts exceeded only by New Hampshire (32.1 per cent), Rhode Island (20.3 per cent) and Wisconsin (17.2 per cent).

The average daily attendance of pupils enrolled in the public schools is 578,652. Massachusetts ranks eleventh among the states in average number of days attended by each enrolled pupil; fifteenth, in number attending daily for each 100 enrolled; twentieth, in expenditure per pupil attending school ($78.68.)

The following table gives comparisons between Massachusetts and the United States as a whole, in regard to the items indicated:

TABLE V

COMPARISON OF THE UNITED STATES AND MASSACHUSETTS IN REGARD TO STATISTICS OF SCHOOL ATTENDANCE AND EXPENDITURES[1]

	United States	Massachusetts
Per cent of school population 5 to 17 inclusive, in daily attendance	64.4	63.8
Number days schools are in session	164.0	180.0
Average number of days attended by each enrolled pupil	130.6	149.2

[1] United States Bureau of Education: "Biennial Survey of Education," 1920-1922, Volume II, pp. 12-13.

Average number of years of school life on basis of 180-day year	6.92	9.08
Per capita (of population) expenditure for public school education	$14.47	$14.41

According to the 1920 Federal census, 464,752 of the 483,762 boys and girls in Massachusetts 7 to 13 years of age, or 96.1 per cent, are in school, while 90,290 of the 122,214 children 14 to 16 years old, or 73.9 per cent, are in school. The proportion enumerated as actually employed is 26.5 per cent.

The census school-attendance figures should be interpreted as follows: The fourteenth census inquiry as to school attendance was as to whether the person enumerated had attended school, college, or any kind of educational institution at any time between September 1, 1919, and the census date, January 1, 1920. The number of persons shown by the report as attending school in 1920 is not, therefore, identical with the number simultaneously in attendance at any time in 1919 or 1920. It merely represents all those students who attended day or night school at any time during the dates specified.

On this basis, the rank of Massachusetts in percentage of children 7 to 13 years of age in school is first; its rank in percentage of children 14 and 15 years of age in school is forty-second (forty-third if the District of Columbia is included).

CHAPTER THREE

OCCUPATIONS OF CHILDREN

That children should be kept in school until at least the age of 14, and should not be employed before that age in factories and stores, is pretty well established in public opinion and in legislative practice. Many people, however, still believe that when boys and girls under 14 have been thus protected, enough has been done. They apparently think that the child of 14 is an adult; that he has graduated from the need of protective care on the part of society, and that he is quite competent to take care of himself amid the many hazards and perplexities of the world of labor.

The Threshold Years

It was John Fiske who propounded the theory that human educability, and hence the rise and growth of civilization, are due at bottom to the biological fact of a long period of infancy.[1] But because of economic events and conditions associated with or arising out of the so-called Industrial Revolution, there has been a tendency to shorten childhood—to subject it to strains and responsibilities which only adults should undergo and undertake. To counteract this tendency, child-labor and school-attendance laws have been enacted; but it cannot be said that childhood and

[1] Fiske, John: "Excursions of an Evolutionist" and "A Century of Science."

youth have yet received their full dues from the standpoint either of protection or of education.

The very civilization which a prolonged human infancy has made possible will destroy itself and its bearers if that period of plasticity and opportunity be neglected. The need is for a fuller and better use of infancy as a means of preparation for and initiation into the social and economic life of today, which has grown in volume and complexity. The period of infancy, as Fiske understood it, does not end at the fourteenth birthday, but includes the years of adolescence, the threshold years, roughly the years from 14 to 18. These are the years which we now conspicuously neglect.

The plasticity and educability of the human "infant" are subject to perversion, and peculiarly so in the period of early adolescence. This same period has peculiar value for positive and beneficial ends. Says G. Stanley Hall: "As adolescence slowly supervenes and boyhood is molted, the method of freedom and appeal to interest and spontaneity should be increased. Now the best things are springing up in the human soul. If there is any genius or talent, enthusiasm for work or for ideals, they begin now to be felt. If the race is ever to advance, it will not be by increasing the average longevity or directly by enriching the last stages of life, but by prolonging this period of development so that youth shall not die and its zest and enthusiasm grow pale." [1]

Conditions in industry, as represented by the oc-

[1] Hall, G. Stanley: "Adolescence." Published by D. Appleton & Co.

cupations open to early school-leavers, are, in general, the very negation of that freedom which Dr. Hall had in mind. They repress individuality, and furnish little opportunity for self-discovery, self-mastery and self-realization. They do give a sense of freedom from home and school restraints which too often leads to disaster. Never does the boy or girl stand in greater need of counsel and protection than at the critical period of early adolescence—the trying-out and self-finding time of life. Guidance that is more than vocational is the child's right. He is entitled to the conditions of all-round educative growth, and this means much more than opportunity to get specific training or general information. It has to do with the whole of personality and character.

That industry is not primarily concerned with the education and guidance of boys and girls is plain enough, but that the schools in general are rendering adequate service in these respects, with due regard to differences in individual needs, is questionable. The problem of the 14-year and 15-year-old children, whether at school or at work, has not been solved, though progress is certainly being made.

Occupational Distribution

In Massachusetts, according to the Federal census of 1920, occupational distribution of employed children 10 to 15 years of age is as follows:

TABLE VI

OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYED CHILDREN 10-15 YEARS OF AGE (1920, UNITED STATES CENSUS)

Occupations	Number of Children Employed
Total	33,723
Agricultural pursuits	831
Manufacturing and mechanical	23,753
Domestic and personal service	1,226
Clerical occupations	4,317
Trade (including stores, newsboys, etc.)	2,749
Transportation (including messengers)	655
Extraction of minerals	7
Other occupations	185

As Massachusetts is an industrial state, it is not surprising that her employed children should be found most frequently in manufacturing and mechanical occupations. According to a study made by the State Department of Education of the jobs held by nineteen thousand continuation-school pupils, 69 per cent were in manufacturing.[1] One such industry—the textile—employed 39 per cent of all these 14-year and 15-year-old children. Another manufacturing industry—leather goods, leather, felt, and rubber shoes—furnished occupations for 11 per cent of this group. Next to manufacturing, stores of all kinds claimed the work of these minors—12 per cent being employed therein. The rest of the children were scattered among the multitudinous trades and industries of the state.

[1] Appendix: Tables I and II.

Although the numbers of children employed in Massachusetts are large, the proportion of children to the total number of employed persons is small. This is true of every important industry, even the textile, which employs the largest group of children. According to census figures, the 7,264 children employed in the cotton mills constitute only 6.7 per cent of the total number of cotton mill operatives; the 2,703 children in woolen and worsted mills are 5.1 per cent of the employees in their concerns; and in silk mills, the 353 children are 6.8 per cent. [1] In the shoe industry, the proportion is even smaller, boys and girls under 16 comprising only 3.7 per cent of the total force. About the same or a smaller proportion of children to adult employees holds in all the occupations except the so-called "arm and leg" jobs. Children 10 to 15 years of age constitute 48.9 per cent of the messenger, bundle, and office boys and girls, and 72.6 per cent of the newsboys.

An analysis of the occupations for which 1,882 children 14 and 15 years old were certificated in New Bedford (a large textile city) from July 1, 1924 to June 30, 1925, shows that 986 went into the textile industry while 896 went into non-textile occupations. [2] The majority of the girls in the textile mills were employed in such simple work as doffing, spooling, heddle and harness work, inspecting, cleaning, packing, etc.; most of the boys as general helpers, cleaners, sweepers, back boys, peg boys, wirers, etc. In non-

[1] Appendix: Table III.

[2] Massachusetts Superintendents' Association: "Report of the Committee on School and Age Requirements," pp. 77-80.

textile factories, the 238 children were employed chiefly as general helpers, assemblers, labellers, packers, and machine tenders. Outside of factory work, the largest number of girls were in domestic and personal service of various kinds, and a smaller number in stores as helpers, stock girls, and salesgirls. One-fifth of all the boys employed, a larger proportion than in non-textile factories, were in mercantile service as clerks in grocery, hardware, and other stores, and in connection with driving and delivering.

In a study of continuation-school children throughout the state in 1922 and 1923, it was found that "two-fifths of the children are working in textile mills as doffers, sweepers, oilers, wire boys and girls, weavers, and bobbin boys and girls. In the shoe factories they are employed, as a rule, as helpers on nailing machines and stitchers of very simple seams. They carry boxes and are floor girls in candy factories. In paper box factories, they fold and paste and pack. Hundreds are employed in errand work either inside or outside the stores and plants. In stores they are cash girls, errand boys, helpers in the stockroom, and occasionally sales girls. Wherever these children are, it is mainly their arms and legs that are wanted. Of the two hundred forty pupils in one continuation school 'only six were seriously engaged in tasks that lead directly to the trades.' " [1]

[1] Massachusetts Child Labor Committee: "The Continuation Schools of Massachusetts," p. 7.

Value of Available Jobs

On the whole, the children of Massachusetts are pretty well protected from entrance into forms of employment especially dangerous to health or morals; but, as will be noted more fully later, it is doubtful whether for children of 14 and 15, occupational life is not generally hazardous, and whether the available jobs can be regarded as profitable from a vocational standpoint. This is quite apart from the question of specific effects and hazards of particular jobs and occupations.

The majority of working children in Massachusetts, as elsewhere, are not following real vocations (callings) but are merely employed in jobs, most of which are of little value in themselves for purposes of occupational training and advancement. They are often somewhat inaccurately called "blind-alley jobs." A "blind alley" depends on both the job and the child. There are two sides of the blind-alley equation, as there are of the child-labor equation. It is the business of vocational guidance to effect a proper adjustment between child and job, with reference not only to the present but also to the future. The task must begin before the child leaves school. Systematic, organized vocational guidance is found, according to the report of the Committee on School and Age Requirements, of the Massachusetts Superintendents' Association, in only six cities of this Commonwealth.

The splendid services rendered by the continuation schools are not to be gainsaid, but it is probable that the extent and value of these services are greatly limited by the simple, routine nature characteristic

of most of the jobs open to children under 16. There is not much in these jobs themselves to seize hold of for educational or training purposes, and the guidance given is guidance under the handicap of conditions that ought not to exist. Moreover, a large part of the task of continuation schools is that of overcoming the general educational deficiencies of boys and girls leaving the regular schools to go out into the world and become workers and citizens.

Few children get ahead occupationally without changing to some kind of work for which their previous jobs have afforded no definite training or preparation. That is, the under-sixteen jobs of boys and girls bear no specific relation to their later advancement in type of work or amount of wages. In many instances these early jobs hinder later advancement since time has been wasted that might better have been spent for further education, and intellectual interest and vocational ambition are often deadened.

The fact that a large proportion of the children employed in textile mills remain in the textile industry may seem an exception to some of the foregoing statements; but most of the boys and girls in textile mills are found engaged in unskilled or distinctly juvenile work, as cleaners, doffers, bobbin boys and girls, sweepers and so on through a miscellaneous list. Out of a thousand boys and girls considered in New Bedford, a minority were engaged on skilled or semi-skilled processes. With this minority, it is likely that entrance into the mills before the age of 16 yields no ultimate advantage, especially as the processes are easily and quickly learned. Many Massachusetts em-

ployers are skeptical of the economic value of juvenile workers in their mills. One large textile concern for several years has employed no children under 16.

The Massachusetts Commission on Industrial Education reported in 1906 that 33 per cent of the children of this state who began work between the ages of 14 and 16 were employed in unskilled industries, while 65 per cent were in low-grade industries; thus a little less than two per cent were in skilled or high-grade industries.[1] It was also stated that the 14-year-old child enters unskilled industries and remains there, and that the 16-year-old child more often enters the higher-grade work. A tendency was noted in the direction of less and less desire on the part of high-grade industries and large employers to employ children under 16 even on routine processes, and this tendency was confirmed in 1925 by the report of the State industrial inspectors, all of whom were in agreement on this point.

In 1918 the Federal Children's Bureau studied the occupational histories of working children under 16 in Boston, Cambridge, Somerville, and Chelsea, reporting that about two-thirds of all the positions held by children who took out certificates in the four cities were for "clerical occupations, wrapping, selling or delivery of goods, etc.," while most of the others were for factory and mechanical occupations. Chief among the clerical and similar occupations was messenger, errand and delivery work, which alone furnished nearly

[1] Report of the Commission on Industrial and Technical Education, Massachusetts Senate Report No. 349, April, 1906.

one-third of all these positions, and next most important was cash and messenger work in department stores, which furnished about one-eighth. Office work accounted for 7.3 per cent; packing, wrapping, labelling, and shipping-room work for 6.8 per cent; and selling for 4.1 per cent.

"Most of the positions held by the children studied were for simple mechanical tasks or for running errands or carrying articles either inside or outside the establishment. Although none of these positions required any real skill, some of them permitted the development of a certain dexterity and others made it possible for the child to acquire a little practical knowledge of the business apart from his own small task. A few of them doubtless offered opportunities for promotion to more skilled or responsible positions if the child remained, which he rarely did, until he grew older. In the vast majority of cases, however, the occupation was not of such a character as to offer either a future in itself or training for any other occupation to which the child could hope to earn a living as an adult." [1]

This study seems to show that "for the child workers who had definitely left school for industry the period between the date of leaving school and the sixteenth birthday was in nearly all cases almost, if not completely wasted, and that for many it was worse than wasted. Equipped with at best only a rudimentary education and guided, except in rare instances,

[1] Woodbury, Helen S.: "The Working Children of Boston," United States Children's Bureau Publication, Number 87, p. 32.

only by chance, these children were necessarily excluded by law from all trades involving the use of dangerous machinery, and by their own ignorance and inexperience from practically all other occupations which would offer them an opportunity to acquire either mental or manual skill. In the vast majority of cases even the little dexterity which they might have obtained in a position was soon lost because as they grew older they passed on from their children's tasks to entirely different occupations." [1]

The occupations of children of 14 and 15 with some exceptions require little skill and offer little prospect of promotion. The children are neither well equipped for advancement nor in position for it. These are the conclusions given by the inspectors of the Division of Industrial Safety in the Department of Labor and Industries in answer to a recent questionnaire regarding the occupations of children. It is interesting to note how closely their opinions, based on observations in the field, coincide with those of vocational counsellors on the basis of their experience.

"Let him become an apprentice" was formerly the answer to the problem of how to give the child his chance of learning a trade, doing useful work, and receiving more training for life and citizenship. Nowadays the child under 16 has practically no opportunities to become an apprentice. Apprenticeships have consistently declined in number and what are available usually require the applicant to be at least 16 years of

[1] Woodbury, Helen S.: "The Working Children of Boston," United States Children's Bureau Publication, Number 87, p. 67.

age. In Massachusetts a few concerns, manufacturing and otherwise, are opening schools of training or apprenticeship to these older children. However, the industrial inspectors report that very few of the early school-leavers become apprentices even when opportunities are available as they reach 16 years. Out of 1,882 working children under 16 in New Bedford, only 70 were listed as apprentices, and this designation included caddies, cleaners and general helpers. As a matter of fact, in most trades, children of 14 and 15 are barred out of apprenticeship by established rules approved both by employers and by labor unions.

Wages of Juvenile Workers

Though early employment is seldom profitable to the child from a broad vocational standpoint, attempt is sometimes made to justify it on the ground of the wages earned. Various studies in Massachusetts have shown that children's wages are by no means so large on the average as is often thought. A section of the report of the Massachusetts Commission on Industrial Education said, in reference to wages, that the child commencing work at 16 overtakes his brother commencing at 14 in less than two years. "That his total income in four years would equal that of his brother for six years we cannot prove, but the slight data at hand so indicate."[1] The Children's Bureau report on "The Working Children of Boston" showed that the initial wages of the great majority of boys and

[1] Massachusetts Superintendents' Association: "Report of the Committee on School and Age Requirements," p. 84.

girls was from $3 to $5 a week, while the average wage of all the children under 16 was only $16.68 a month.

On account of much seasonal and otherwise temporary employment, the wages of a large proportion of working children are not continuous throughout the year. That the average working child contributes any material sum to the family support is doubtful. In many instances, of course, the earnings are fairly large and the family is directly or indirectly aided financially by the child's wages; but it is easy to exaggerate the number of these instances, as well as the family's need of such assistance. If children generally received large wages it is unlikely that very many would be employed.

Many mill and store owners in Massachusetts, apart from humanitarian reasons, regard the employment of children as unprofitable from the employer's standpoint. The report of the National Industrial Conference Board on "The Employment of Young Persons in the United States" confirms, from the standpoint of manufacturing interests, the belief that employment of children in industry does not pay. "Though it may appear as cheaper," says the Board, "cost of production is not a matter of wage rates so much as of efficiency. Inefficiency, the amount of training and supervision required, the large 'turnover' and the great susceptibility to accident combine to make the work of very young persons in actuality a costly item. While this is recognized by the larger industrial interests, there still may exist among the smaller manufacturers who do not figure their production costs adequately, and mistake wage rates for cost of pro-

duction, much misapprehension as to the economic advantage of child labor." [1]

Instability of Child Workers

One of the costs of child labor is the turnover—the shifting about from job to job, with periods of idleness between. The causes of this turnover are varied, and include such factors as the child's immaturity, his lack of training and preparation for a working life, his ignorance when he goes to work of occupational conditions and opportunities, the discovery that the available jobs are often too hard or else too easy and simple and monotonous, and that most of them lead nowhere, and such psychological factors as adolescent restlessness and instability of interests. The child is not learning a trade or even habits of industry under these conditions. He frequently, on the contrary, acquires habits of failure and idleness, and a distaste and incapacity for serious, sustained effort. The situation can be, and has been, greatly improved through vocational guidance and continuation schools; but it is hardly possible to change the nature of available jobs or the psychology of adolescent boys and girls.

A study made in 1922 by the Massachusetts Child Labor Committee of the entire work histories of 324 Boston children during their fourteenth and fifteenth years, showed that three-fifths had changed positions at least once before the sixteenth birthday, and these positions averaged less than three months in length.

[1] National Industrial Conference Board: "Employment of Young Persons in the United States."

One boy held 31 positions in two years and four months.

23.8 per cent were "steady" workers holding positions for a year or more.
36.4 per cent were "active" workers holding positions for six months to a year.
21.9 per cent were "unstable" workers holding positions from three to six months.
17.9 per cent were "restless" workers holding positions for less than three months.

Of the 14-year-old children, 41.6 per cent had changed positions before their fifteenth birthday as compared with 29.5 per cent of the 15-year-old children who had changed positions before their sixteenth birthday.

The child-labor turnover should be interpreted with care. Many of the jobs into which children enter are short-time jobs, temporary in nature, though it scarcely seems wise that school should be abandoned for the sake of temporary employment. Apart from this element in the turnover, it is to be borne in mind that a certain amount of shifting about from job to job is not only inevitable but desirable. There is a normal turnover that must not be confused with an excessive turnover. It is no crime for a child to give up an unsuitable or unpromising job, or to try himself out in a number of different kinds of work. Too large a proportion of children, however, shift with a frequency far greater than that of the average turnover, which is high enough; too many shift aimlessly, without method or objective, neither seeking nor finding vocational adjustment.

In Springfield, it is reported, "only" 10 per cent of the continuation-school pupils are actual "drifters" —but why say "only"? In Boston, according to recent

continuation-school figures, the percentage is even smaller, and approximately 50 per cent of the boys and girls stay in their jobs a year—but perhaps this is too long a time in many instances!

Children in Agriculture

How much of a problem, from the child-labor standpoint, presents itself in connection with the employment of children in agricultural pursuits? To what extent does this problem suggest or require legislative action? These questions are of nation-wide interest and concern. Disturbing facts have been given the public in the reports of the United States Children's Bureau and the National Child Labor Committee, dealing with conditions in such industrialized forms of agriculture as sugarbeet-growing in the Middle West, onion culture in Ohio and elsewhere, cotton-raising in the South and the Imperial Valley of California, fruit-raising in various parts of the country, truck-gardening along the Atlantic seaboard, etc.

The work of children on their home farms, under parental supervision, is, we believe, usually more productive of good than of harm, though there are doubtless many instances in which the opposite is true. Cases of parental cruelty in connection with the farm-work of children at home can best be dealt with through the agency of the juvenile court, which is undergoing a promising development in rural areas. The most serious criticism of the work that children do on the home farm has to do with its interference with school attendance. This indicates the need of strengthening the esteem of rural schools in the minds of children

and parents, and the development of administrative efficiency in the enforcement of the school-attendance laws.

A peculiar situation is created by a defect in our Massachusetts laws. Children of 14 and 15 who are working on farms other than those of their parents must have employment certificates, while children who are under 14 [1] are not required to have any! According to a recent study by the Federal Children's Bureau of both rural and city children working on the tobacco farms of Western Massachusetts during 1923, 61.7 per cent of the 308 children studied were under 14 years of age. [2] Of these 308 children, 87 were under 12 years of age. More of the rural children than the city children were under 14.

Occasionally, here in Massachusetts, complaints are received regarding employment of children in gangs under bosses in the cultivating and harvesting of certain large-scale crops, such as strawberries, currants, cranberries, apples, peaches, and garden truck. Very young children are said to be employed for very long hours, often at back-breaking or otherwise fatiguing tasks. However, the most serious situation seems to be that in the tobacco-growing and onion-growing fields of the Connecticut Valley. In the summer months, according to one estimate, about 5,000 boys and

[1] This is the regular employment age for occupations other than farming and domestic service, for which special certificates are required.

[2] Byrne, Harriet A.: "Child Labor in Representative Tobacco-Growing Areas," Children's Bureau Publication Number 155.

girls, half of them under 14, work in the cultivation and harvesting of these two crops.

Not all of the work in connection with tobacco-growing is really out of doors, since some of it is performed under the net tents in hot, vitiated air, and some in more or less dusty curing-sheds. Picking the tobacco leaves is usually done by boys. The girls mainly do "sewing" or "stringing," which means standing all day and stringing 20 pairs of leaves to each lath. The hours worked are generally from 7 to 12 and 1 to 5 on the plantations, while on the home farms there are, of course, no definite hours. Many of the women and child workers are carried out each day from the nearby cities in trucks which are supplied by the plantation owners. On the plantations there is considerable freedom from moral oversight. In the fall many of the children return to school late and consequently are handicapped in their school progress.

Onions are raised in the same region and the two crops dovetail so well that when work is slack in one it is heavy in the other. Children work on nearly all the processes of the onion crop, but their main occupation is weeding. This involves crawling on hands and knees along the rows. The onion crop is weeded from two to five times during the season. Onion rows are so close together that all work must be done by hand or by hand-power machinery.

Children in Street Trades

Street trading includes the work of children who sell or carry newspapers or magazines, those who distribute slips and fliers, and those who black boots

and vend gum and small wares. Newsboys are in the majority. According to the law of Massachusetts, a boy may not become a street trader until he is 12, nor a girl until she is 18. Boys between 12 and 14 may work at street trades outside of school hours between 6 A.M. and 8 P.M. Those between 14 and 16 may sell between 5 A.M. and 9 P.M. All boys under 16 must obtain a license and a badge. The latter is to be worn all the time the boy is selling and must not be sold, given away, or loaned.

Street trading appeals especially to the boy. It gives him, as other occupations do, a certain freedom from the restraints of school and home. Often it affords him an opportunity to run with the gang. He is stirred by the excitements of street life—its kaleidoscopic movement, its sensational events. He may earn money to be spent on the gratification of personal desires—candy, ice cream, the movies. He may have other uses for the money—to contribute to family support, or to buy clothes for himself, or to save up for his own education at college or technical school. The motives for entering street work are indeed numerous and varied. One small boy who appeared on the street every day with papers but who never made any profit, gave as his reason for selling, "I like to holler." Imitation of older boys who are regarded as heroes plays a part, and there is the influence of a certain type of "success book" as well as the encouragement of the circulation managers who describe the prospects in terms pleasing to the ambitious youngster.

In 1922 a study was made of 325 newsboys in the

city of Springfield.[1] These boys all sold papers on the street, none of them being delivery boys. As the findings of this study accord generally with the data obtained elsewhere in similar investigations and surveys, we may summarize them as fairly representative of the facts in Massachusetts cities. They help dispose of some of the widespread myths about newsboys, particularly the one in which the typical newsboy is conceived as an orphan or at least a half-orphan.

Most of the boys came from homes which were normal, economically and socially. Three-fourths of them came from families in which both the mother and the father were living and the father was working. Contrary to popular impression, there were only six widowed mothers, and in only one case was the widowed mother dependent on the earnings of her three sons.

The amounts that the boys received were not large. Their earnings ranged from $1.00 to $13.50, but over three-fifths made less than $4.00 a week. Although it is usually believed that the little boy makes the most money, it was found to be otherwise, the older boys making the largest profits. The greater number of the boys gave the major part of their earnings to their families, although the need was not pressing. About one-tenth put their money in the savings bank, and a twentieth were saving it for more education.

In all child-labor legislation one of the first

[1] Austin, Louise, and others: "Newsboys in Springfield," *National Vocational Guidance Association Bulletin*, November, 1923.

points considered is the number of hours that the child works. For all children under 16 in Massachusetts, the number of hours is limited to eight a day. The Springfield boys usually sold papers only in the afternoon and for not more than three hours. It must be remembered, however, that three hours of newspaper selling plus five hours of school work make an eight-hour day.

Newspaper selling combines many features which are detrimental to the health of the boy. He is exposed to all conditions of weather and temperature. His papers are heavy and if he must carry them long, they tend to physical strain and cause fatigue. Newsboys have contributed far more than their proportional share of juvenile delinquency. The very conditions that sharpen their wits and make them shrewd often lead them into trouble with the authorities. Many of the tricks of the trade are better not learned. The associations are frequently of an undesirable kind. Many studies have disclosed a greater amount and degree of retardation in school among newsboys and the street-trading group generally, than among other school children, though the extent to which this is due to the outside work is not clearly demonstrated.

Not all newspaper selling is harmful. There are undoubted benefits gained, such as learning of business principles, judging of character, the appreciation of the value of money and what it is to earn a dollar, and contact with business men and women. The benefits, however, have been undoubtedly magnified in the average person's mind, while the unfortunate factors in the situation are often overlooked or minimized.

CHAPTER FOUR

ACCIDENT AND HEALTH HAZARDS

In the opinion of many students of the child-labor problem, the available data relating to accident and health hazards are alone sufficient to characterize the employment of boys and girls under 16 as socially undesirable. However, in considering these data (and in this chapter we must limit ourselves to only a very small fraction of the vast body of material that might be drawn upon if space permitted) it should be borne in mind that even if no accident and health hazards existed, the conclusion could not be drawn that their absence solved the problem of child labor. For the educational welfare of the child, his welfare apart from physical safety and health, presents a challenge that also has to be met.

Occupational Accidents

In its study, in 1918, of "The Working Children of Boston," the Federal Children's Bureau obtained information regarding the incidence of sickness and accident. It was found, on interviewing 823 employed children still under 16, that 424 cases of sickness or accident had occurred in the group since the date of going to work. Nearly one child out of every twelve had suffered some accident, either in the course of his work or otherwise, since taking his first regular position.

In any consideration of the physical hazards of child employment, account must be taken of industrial accidents. The Federal report on "Women and Child Wage Earners in the United States" demonstrated very clearly that the accident rate for children is much higher than for adults engaged in the same or similar processes.[1] This fact was again shown in a study made under the direction of Professor Amy Hewes, of Mount Holyoke College, of 1,221 accidents which occurred during 1920 in a Connecticut textile mill.[2] Of these accidents 1,164 occurred to workers whose ages were known. Over one-fourth had been suffered by employees under 20 years of age, although this group included only 15 per cent of the total number employed and although the younger workers in the mill were in all probability engaged in work less hazardous in itself than that of adults. The number of accidents per 100 employees was 37.1 for workers under 15 years, and 42.9 for those between 15 and 20 years. For all others, however, the average was only 21.6.

These and similar studies suggest that there is something inherent in adolescence which makes boys and girls more liable to accident than adults. This is the "awkward stage" of growth and development, when the finer movements and co-ordinations cannot well be accomplished. Besides this adolescent awkwardness and lack of muscular control, we must count

[1] "Report on Condition of Women and Child Wage Earners in the United States," Senate Document, Number 645.

[2] Hewes, Amy: "Study of Accident Records in a Textile Mill," *Journal of Industrial Hygiene*, October, 1921, pp. 187-195.

among the causes of industrial accident to young workers, the general irresponsibility and carelessness of childhood and youth, together with the strong impulses of curiosity and play.

Analysis of Accident Records

Miss Lucile Eaves, in analyzing 1,000 industrial accidents suffered by Massachusetts children 14 and 15 years of age, found that although the majority of these accidents caused trivial injuries like those commonly suffered by active children while in their homes or on the playground, there were 62 cases of permanent mutilation, and six of the accidents were fatal.[1] Over half, or 579, of the 1,000 accidents, were due directly to the wage-earning employment of the children; 216 of the injuries were inflicted by the machine and 110 by the hand tools with which the children were at work; 167 of the 1,000 accidents were due to the children being caught in gears, belting, or shafts. Accidents connected with the operation of elevators and hoists caused another group of serious injuries.

In the year ending June 30, 1924, according to a report prepared under the direction of the Commissioner of Labor and Industries, 2,965 tabulatable accidents were suffered by working children between the ages of 14 and 18.[2] Of these, 657 occurred to children 14 and 15 years old. Three were fatal and 14 resulted

[1] Eaves, Lucile: "One Thousand Industrial Accidents Suffered by Massachusetts Children," reprinted from *The American Child*, November, 1920.

[2] *Monthly Labor Review*, Dec., 1925, Vol. 21, No. 6, p. 93.

in permanent partial disability. Of the accidents to children 16 and 17 years old, seven were fatal, while permanent partial disability resulted in 72 cases. The ten fatal injuries occurred to boys; 69 of the permanent partials to boys, and 17 to girls. Amputation or loss of use of one or more phalanges were the most frequent form of injury.

In some instances the children were injured while doing other work than that specified on the employment certificate; and failure of employers to comply with statutory provisions regarding the safeguarding of machinery is noted. Relatively few of the accidents, however, are attributable to violations of the safety or labor laws. It is stated that "labor laws may be complied with and yet serious industrial accidents occur." The report stresses the importance of preventive work through factory inspection and the education of certificate-issuing officers and of workers and employers.

Recently the Federal Children's Bureau made a survey of compensable industrial accidents to minors under 21 in three states.[1] In Massachusetts, at the time of the survey, before an employee could receive compensation for an injury, he must have been disabled for at least ten days. Therefore, all the 3,177 Massachusetts cases studied were serious enough to have caused an absence from work of ten days or more. This waiting period since has been decreased to seven days.

Children of 14 and 15 received 268 or 8.1 per

[1] Gray, Edith S.: "Industrial Accidents to Employed Minors in Wisconsin, Massachusetts, and New Jersey," Children's Bureau Publication Number 152.

cent of all the injuries and of these 5.2 per cent resulted in permanent partial disabilities, that is, the amputation of, or the loss of use of, some member of the body. In most cases it was the upper extremities which were affected. Two-fifths of the accidents resulted in cuts, punctures, and abrasions. This type of injury together with infections formed a much larger proportion of the total number of injuries for minors than for adults. Particularly is this true of infections, from which 16.7 per cent of all the minors suffered as against 9.4 per cent of the adults. The carelessness of youth thus evinced must be overcome by education if this proportion is to decrease. This might not greatly reduce the number of injuries, but it would prevent many of them from disabling the child worker.

More of the injuries to children were due to power-working machinery than to any other cause (32.4 per cent). Not only is the number larger, but the accidents are more severe. Proportionately twice as many accidents due to machinery were suffered by minors as were suffered by adults. For children under 16 the percentage was 31.7 and for 16-year and 17-year-old children, 34.6. It is during the regular operation of the machine that the majority of the accidents occur, and except for the textile industry, accidents occur less frequently in oiling or cleaning. A considerable number of machine accidents may be ascribed to the ineptitude of inexperienced workers.

Next to machinery, the most frequent cause of accident was "handling objects." Strains from handling heavy objects frequently resulted in hernia. "Strik-

ing against objects," "falls," "animals," "vehicles," etc., were the causes of the rest of the accidents to minors, although the accidents in each classification were few in number. One exception to this was in the class of accidents due to "striking or falling against objects" where the percentage of injuries was 10.1 per cent for children under 16—as compared with six per cent for adults. Apparently, liability from this cause decreases as better control and co-ordination is obtained with age. Children as well as the adult workers benefit from legislation requiring guarded machinery; aisles free from materials over which people might trip; floors free from grease and oil so that people will not slip on them; and other similar safety and sanitation regulations.

"The handicap placed by these accidents on young workers was disclosed by personal interviews with minors who suffered permanent partial disablement before they were 18 years of age. Although some have been able to follow the same occupation or a more promising one, in the three to six years that have elapsed, others have been forced by their injuries out of chosen occupations into work with smaller industrial opportunities, and some have been unable to find any kind of employment. Many of these young people, now in their early twenties, are sensitive over their deformities, discouraged by their prolonged economic dependence upon their families, and hopeless over the future." [1]

[1] Gray, Edith S.: "Industrial Accidents to Employed Minors in Wisconsin, Massachusetts, and New Jersey," Children's Bureau Publication Number 152, p. 90.

Since power machines are responsible for so many of the compensable accidents to minors in this state, the Massachusetts Child Labor Committee has made a further study of 435 such accidents occurring to children under 18 during the year ending June 30, 1925. Twice as many boys as girls suffered from these accidents, one-sixth (70) of which were to children of 14 and 15.

Of the accidents suffered, one in 10 was serious enough to result in permanent partial disability. Over half of the injuries were cuts, lacerations, abrasions, and 95 per cent were to the upper extremities, usually involving the fingers. The temporary disabilities varied in length from the statutory requirement of one week to 26 weeks' absence from work.[1] Among both girls and boys the most common duration of absence from work was two to three weeks (23.3 per cent of the boys and 26.4 per cent of the girls).

Injuries from certain classes of machinery carried an extra likelihood of severity. Of the 44 most serious accidents—the permanent partial disabilities—the largest number, 15, occurred in the textile industry. But the proportion was larger in the woodworking trade. This agrees with the finding of the New York study of accidents in woodworking factories, where it was concluded that "the ratio of accidents to the number of employees in the woodworking industry is not as high as in some of the other industries, yet the

[1] Accidents in this year were compensable if they caused a week's absence from work, whereas in previous years the minimum period was 10 days.

percentage of permanent injuries is higher in woodworking than in any other industry." [1]

The power-machine accidents occurred chiefly in six of the leading industries of the state: textile, leather-working, metal-working, woodworking, paper and paper products, printing and bookbinding. These trades accounted for all but one-seventh of these 435 power-machine accidents. The textile industry was first with 135 or 31 per cent, leather second with 76 or 17.5 per cent, and metal-working a close third with 71 or 16.3 per cent.

The machines which stood out as being the most dangerous for children to be engaged upon were punch presses and other presses. Presses caused 75 (17.2 per cent) of the total machine injuries. If the textile machinery, which was also a prominent factor in the accident score, is eliminated, the presses are responsible for 37.5 per cent of all the injuries. Most of the punch-press accidents occurred in the metal trades, constituting over half of the accidents suffered in that trade.

Seventy-one per cent or 309 of the accidents occurred at the point of operation. Gears caused only one-twelfth of the total number of accidents but one-fifth of the textile accidents. Not unusual occupations but the regular duties connected with the operation or adjustment of the machine or work caused 332 or 76.4 per cent of the injuries. Fifty occurred during the cleaning and oiling of the machines, and

[1] Department of Labor, New York: "An Analysis of Three Hundred Accidents in Woodworking Factories," Publication Number 139.

of these fifty, thirty-five occurred in the textile industry. Of course, in Massachusetts more children are employed by the textile industry than by any other industry; hence, although the number of accidents is high, the accident rate may be low.

Infections have been prominently noted in other accident studies. It is interesting to note that in the group of power-machine accidents under consideration here, only 22, or five per cent, were referred to in the records as infected, and one-half of these were in the textile industry. Is this because machine accidents are usually serious enough to lead the workers to exercise greater caution?

Although the data were limited, some effort was made to ascertain just how the accidents occurred. Thirty-eight of them, 11 of which resulted in permanent partial disability, apparently were due to the negligence or carelessness of the child. For instance, a girl of 16 in a printing establishment saw a piece of paper caught in the machine and reached for it, thereby crushing her fingers. Her instructions had been very definite always to shut off the power before doing this. It must be remembered, however, that most of these accident reports are sent in by employers. It is a question whether we can really call it the child's fault, when because of his eager curiosity he investigates other machines in the room or does not heed instruction. Peculiar to adolescence is the seeming inability of these children to co-ordinate hands and feet. The records read so often "left finger under die, pressed on treadle," "accidently touched treadle which brought press down on finger," etc.

Thirty-five accidents, one-fifth of them permanent partial disabilities, were concerned with the maladjustment or lack of guards on machines. Thirty-two of these could be laid directly at the door of the employer, because of his negligence or carelessness in not having available guards in place and working. One-tenth of all the accidents and one-third of those resulting in serious injuries occurred to children who had been employed three months or less. This points to the need of giving proper training and demonstration to the beginner.

Information was insufficient to make possible a study of fatigue, but it is interesting to note that the day on which the greatest number of accidents occurred was Friday, when 23 per cent of the injuries were recorded. The average for all other days except Saturday, which is a half-holiday, was 16.6 per cent of the total number.

Operation of the more dangerous power-working machines is forbidden [1] to children under 16 years of age. Prohibition of such work to children under 18 years of age would materially decrease the number of accidents to minors, as there were five times as many power-machine accidents to children of 16 and 17 as to children of 14 and 15. Many of these accidents to the older children were caused by the machines prohibited to the younger.

The question may be raised whether the accident hazard for children can ever be eliminated or reduced to an extent that will fully justify the presence of

[1] Appendix, p. 158.

immature, adolescent boys and girls at all the forms of factory employment now open to them and involving, on many machine jobs, the necessary exposure of fingers and hands at the point of operation. The effect of legislation and preventive work in past years has undoubtedly been to decrease the number of accidents to working children, [1] but still too many boys and girls, not a few of them under 16 years of age, are being maimed for life in industry. Both the serious and less serious cases involve some immeasurable accompaniment of nervous shock.

Factors Affecting Health

That physical defects and ailments of great variety are common among working children is shown by numerous health surveys. That they are more common, or less common, among working than among school children of the same ages is not clearly shown by the available data. Nor do the studies that have been made reveal the extent to which these defects and ailments are due to the nature or conditions of employment. At the same time, the data available from these studies afford no sound basis for sweeping denial of the labor factor in the causation of defects and ailments. The whole question is one of great complexity, and its discussion subject to many confusions; there is patent need of further investigation and research before our knowledge is anywhere near complete.

[1] In the statistical year 1917-18, there were 5,683 tabulatable accidents to persons 14 to 17 years of age; in 1919-20, 4,726; in 1921-22, 2,306; in 1923-24, 2,965.

The health hazard of juvenile employment has undoubtedly diminished, in Massachusetts as elsewhere, with the development of legislation which has eliminated very young children from industry, closed certain occupations to boys and girls, lessened their daily and weekly hours of labor, and prohibited night work. Reduction of this hazard has also been accomplished through the movement for better sanitation in factories and stores—better air, light, and other conditions. Years ago, the proportion of working children suffering serious injury to health was much larger than it is today.

With regard to the relation between employment and physical defects and ailments, something besides causation has to be considered, and that is aggravation. We have not had in Massachusetts a study such as that recently made of 412 working children in New York City,[1] where it was reported by the physicians engaged upon the study that three-fourths of the children had two or more physical defects and that nearly half of all the children were doing work which directly aggravated the condition. Yet these children had entered on employment under safeguards at least equal to those obtaining in Massachusetts.

Four boys and six girls with heart defects were working at unsuitable jobs. Three girls with some lung abnormality were employed under unfavorable conditions. Less than one-tenth of the children worked in establishments where the ventilation was

[1] Department of Labor, State of New York: "The Health of the Working Child," Special Bulletin, Number 134.

wholly satisfactory. Forty-six per cent of the factory children were in plants having bad standards of sanitation. Twelve factory children worked on dusty processes. Nearly one-fifth of all the children worked in noisy surroundings. Heavy vibration of machinery or rush of work exposed 19 children to serious nervous strain, while eight children with some definite form of nervous affections were working under conditions tending to aggravate their disorders.

Dental defects were found among a third of the children, visual defects among a fifth. One-fourth of the girls with defective vision, and one-fifth of the boys, were working at occupations tending to increase the departure from normality. Only 45 per cent of all the children had what might be called normal posture. Of the boys with bad posture, 90 per cent were at work under unfavorable conditions; of the girls with bad posture, 80 per cent. Seventy-three per cent of the boys with flat feet were working under aggravating conditions; one-third of the girls.

Of all the children examined, 18 had no physical defects; 99 had minor defects requiring hygienic regulation and diet; 179 had moderate defects requiring minor medical care as well as hygienic supervision; 93 had more serious conditions causing temporary or partial incapacity but quite capable of cure by treatment; 16 had organic diseases or physical impairments capable of mitigation by supervision and treatment; seven had such serious organic diseases as to require immediate medical treatment and probable cessation from work.

Emphasis on Health Service

The Massachusetts Child Labor Committee does not contend that all physical defects and ailments found among working children are caused or aggravated by their employment. It recognizes that in many instances, perhaps the majority of instances, these defects and ailments, or at least certain underlying weaknesses, are brought by the children themselves into their employment. But the Committee does contend that these defects and ailments, if neglected, constitute a vocational handicap, and that their presence clearly indicates the need of health service to working children before they go to work, when they go to work, and after they go to work.

Health service to working children requires not only physical training and hygienic instruction in the regular and continuation schools, but also the timely discovery and correction of defects through an efficient system of physical examinations, together with such guidance, certification, and legal prescription as will keep children out of hazardous forms of employment—a matter which involves the particular child as well as the particular job. At bottom, it is a problem of individual cases.

One shortcoming of existing data on the health of working children is that most of the studies have been so conducted as to overemphasize the job or occupation in the child-labor equation. The child side of the equation is highly important from the health standpoint. The fact that in certain jobs and occupations a large proportion of the children have physical defects and ailments may mean that these particular

children should not have gone to work in these particular jobs, or perhaps should not have entered employment at all. It may never be possible, no matter how many studies and surveys may be made, to separate the labor factor entirely from other factors in the situation, such as the child's heredity, his previous history, his home and leisure-time environment, his "hygienic illiteracy," and so on. And it may never be possible to eliminate all the effects and hazards from child employment, without eliminating the children themselves.

Health Studies in Massachusetts

The two most notable studies that have been made in Massachusetts of this subject are a tuberculosis study in Fall River in connection with the Federal report on "Women and Child Wage Earners in the United States" (published 1912) and a nutrition study in New Bedford by Dr. Hugh Rowell, who at the time was Director of Health and Hygiene in the School Department of that city.

The Fall River inquiry [1] showed that the death rate from tuberculosis among boys 15 to 19 years of age employed in cotton mills was nearly double that of boys not so employed, and that among the girls the rate was more than double that of girls not so employed. Eighty-two per cent of the males and 42 per cent of the females in this city were gainfully employed, so that the comparison seems to be, in a broad way, between groups with a similar standard of liv-

[1] "Report on Women and Child Wage Earners in the United States," Senate Document, Number 645.

ing. The excessive death rate for workers as compared with non-workers, at the age period from 15 to 19, needs to be interpreted by reference to the fact that latent tuberculosis, common enough in the preceding years, becomes active in conditions that lower resistance. Many, if not most of the workers in question had gone into the mills at 14 or thereabouts. It would naturally take some years for the untoward effects to manifest themselves.

Findings in New Bedford

Dr. Rowell, in his more recent study,[1] obtained his data from the routine physical examination of boys and girls belonging to the industrial population of New Bedford. Comparisons were made of a group of working children 14 and 15 years old who applied for working cards with a group of grammar school children of the same ages. Also, the children who went to work were compared as to their physical condition on entering employment and their condition on returning for a new examination on change of position. These groups may be designated for convenience as the "first carders," the "repeaters," and the "school group." Dr. Rowell's findings are based on height-and-weight measurements.

Eighty of the 231 children in the school group (or nearly 35 per cent) were found to be underweight; 384 of the 1,200 first carders, or exactly 32 per cent; 311 of the 1,184 repeaters, or nearly 27 per cent. The school group contained a larger percentage

[1] Rowell, Hugh Grant, M. D.: "The Question of Physical Injury to the Working Child of Fourteen to Sixteen," *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal*, May 31, 1923.

of individuals who were underweight than either the school-leaving or the working group. This fact, Dr. Rowell explains as follows: "The causes are probably that the most fit physically are a little more inclined to go to work; that the extra funds in the family budget permit better living; and in certain cases the child who goes to work is allowed somewhat different food."[1] Such an explanation, however, does not necessarily justify child employment. It may be that some children are better fed on going to work, but the nutrition problem is better solved by raising the total family standard through education and otherwise. Child employment is no real solution of this problem.

The repeaters showed a general tendency to gain in weight during employment. In all nutrition groups (underweight, overweight, and normal) 28 per cent of the girls made less than normal gain, 23 per cent made normal gain, and 49 per cent made better than normal. Among the boys, 31 per cent made less than normal gain, 20 per cent made normal gain, while 49 per cent made better than normal. The gains were best in the underweight groups. The doffer and wire girls did not do well, these occupations furnishing the only clear exception to the general rule. No figures were obtained with regard to the increase of weight among the school children.

That Doctor Rowell has made a valuable con-

[1] Rowell, Hugh Grant, M. D.: "Certain Adolescents in Industry, Presentation of a Nutrition Study in New Bedford, Massachusetts," United States Bureau of Education, School Health Studies Number 7, 1924.

tribution in a field in which too little accurate information is available is doubtless true, but that his findings should be accepted as establishing the freedom of industry or of child employment from hazards to physical development and health is not true. Whether the test of weight used in this study is an adequate measure of nutrition is a medical question into which we shall not enter, but assuredly weight and nutrition are not comprehensive of the defects and ailments which may appear or develop during employment. Nothing is here shown about the incipiency or course of defective vision, heart and lung affections, or any of a hundred and one other items relevant to a complete inquiry. Moreover, none of the New Bedford cases covered a period longer than nine months, while some were as short as a single week.

It should also be noted that the children studied were the recipients of unusually good health service through the department of which Doctor Rowell had charge. "I was able," says Dr. Rowell, "to introduce careful health work, such as co-ordination of school and industrial health records; monthly weighing (in continuation school); careful home follow-up through the teachers and nurse, whom we also used for the teaching of home hygiene; and medical advice as needed." The results obtained from the study must, to some extent, reflect the results of these various services, so that the significance of the study lies partly in its reflection of the value of systematic health work under a full-time school physician. Only six Massachusetts cities have a school physician giving full time.

Direct-Connection Cases

While it cannot be said that child employment carries with it any certain prospect of an unfavorable influence on health, the records of physicians and hospitals do disclose numerous cases in which premature, excessive, or unsuitable work was a direct or contributing factor. The following examples may be cited:

Jane, a girl of fourteen, began her industrial life as a doffer in a cotton mill. During the preceding year she had suffered from a severe attack of rheumatic fever. Her heart was so weak that she could work only a few weeks at a time, but she kept on until finally she broke down with a severe case of valvular heart disease.

Salvatore went to work at fourteen as a blacksmith's helper. He was frail and not physically built for heavy work. As a direct result a case of hernia developed, so severe that an operation was necessary.

Christine had a weak spine. She operated a foot press with the result that her spine became deformed.

Myrtle, with tubercular throat trouble, was doing dusty work in a bag factory, which aggravated her tubercular condition.

Margaret, a nervous girl of fourteen, clipped cloth in a garment factory all day long for an entire year, until the constant use of the same set of muscles brought on a severe case of chorea.

Angela left school at fourteen to work in a crab meat factory and later as a floor girl in a store. One day when she came to the continuation school she fainted after climbing the stairs to the second floor. The school doctor was called to examine her and found an extremely bad heart condition. The father and the stepmother insisted upon the child's working, as a doctor to whom they took her assured them that nothing was the matter. However, the girl became so weak that eventually the father became willing to let her take an easy position where she can sit down half the time. The school believes her condition has been aggravated by her employment.

The Irreducible Hazard

Though a routine examination of minors in Massachusetts cotton mills, made by Dr. Safford of the United States Public Health Service in 1915, failed to disclose instances of injury clearly attributable to the employment, "it was nevertheless apparent that such instances are likely to occur." [1] That injury is bound to occur in some cases is a further fact, due to the hazard contained in the child's physical immaturity and the phenomena of early adolescence.

Dr. Alice Hamilton, of the Harvard Medical School, in an open letter to the Massachusetts Child Labor Committee, February 23, 1923, says: "The girl or boy of 14 is immature in every respect, even the skeleton is not yet mature, the muscles are weak, faulty posture may still do definite harm. It is a crucial period because it is the period of pubescence, and the ductless glands which have such far-reaching effect on the nervous system, on nutrition, and on sexual life are undergoing a rapid development. It is the period when, as statistics show, there is normally a very low tuberculosis rate among non-industrial boys and girls, but among those in industry a marked increase in tuberculosis appears, due undoubtedly to the development of latent tuberculosis which under favorable circumstances might have been overcome. The working child, spending his days indoors at monotonous, tiring, noisy or sometimes exciting work, suffers from fatigue and a lowered vitality which permits tuber-

[1] Safford, Moses V.: "Influence of Occupation on Health During Adolescence," United States Public Health Service Bulletin, Number 78, 1916.

culosis to overcome the natural resistance and develop."

Emphasizing the adolescent factor, a committee of eleven well-known physicians and hygienists, headed by Dr. George P. Barth, Director of School Hygiene in Milwaukee, and including in its membership Dr. D. L. Edsall, Dean of the Harvard Medical School, recently joined in the following statement: "The minimum age for the entrance of children into industry should be not younger than sixteen years. Since it is recognized that the physiological readjustments incident to pubescence (which in the vast majority of cases are not complete until the sixteenth year) determine a period of general instability which makes great and special demands upon the vitality of the child, it is of paramount importance that he should be protected during this period from the physical and nervous strain which entrance into industry inevitably entails. The committee recognizes the fact that pubescence may occur early or may be greatly delayed, and is convinced that the longer it is delayed, the stronger is the indication of a physical stage during which it is highly inappropriate to subject the child to the strains of industry." [1]

There is in early adolescence peculiar liability to the inception and development of nervous disturbances and disorders. Mental health is adversely affected by fatigue, and especially cumulative fatigue, which leads to a lowered psycho-physical tone and heightened suggestibility. This is the time, naturally,

[1] United States Children's Bureau: "Conference Report, 1919—Standards of Child Welfare," Bureau Publication Number 60.

of the development of the large, fundamental muscles of arms, legs, and trunk; but jobs often stress the finer neuro-muscular co-ordinations with resultant nervous strain. Monotonous indoor tasks for long hours mean repression of many powers and the thwarting of normal, creative impulses. There frequently is interference with wholesome play and recreation, especially needful for employed boys and girls, in preference to the indoor, commercialized amusements which they seek at night. Continued experience of failure, as seen in the profitless changing about from one job to another and getting nowhere, is unfavorable to the best mental health.

Physical Examination

The physical examination required in Massachusetts before issuance of an employment certificate is planned to insure that children shall not go into jobs for which they are physically unfitted. It cannot insure that children will not be injured, but it can prevent a great deal of harm. However, the physical-examination law is so framed that it permits the frustration of its protective intent. Here is an instance:

Jim wanted to go to work at a job which involved heavy lifting, but the school doctor who usually signed the health certificates for the working cards wouldn't let him. Jim was clever like many another 14-year-old, so he went to another doctor who was either too careless or too busy to give an examination. This doctor signed the card. Months later, the school doctor was called as the family physician to Jim's home. The boy's heart was found to be in a very bad condition, due largely to the kind of work he had been doing. Jim will be able to do only the lightest of work in the future ,though with proper care and attention the defect might have been corrected.

The State, to provide against such happenings, requires the signature of a doctor before a child can receive his working certificate. But as any physician's signature is enough, children like Jim go from one doctor to another until someone signs the card. For adequate insurance against unsuitable employment, the responsibility should rest with the doctor appointed for that purpose by the School Committee. This doctor should be so familiar with the jobs open to children that he will know if they are fitted for the work.

The Massachusetts Child Labor Committee, in the spring of 1924, made a survey of the way in which the physical examinations for working certificates are given. The twenty towns and cities chosen varied in size from the small country town to the large city; in location from the Berkshires to the coast; in industrial character from the one-industry city to the city with many and varied businesses. In each locality the employment certificate issuing office gave access to its files and records. At least one doctor who signed the health cards was interviewed in each place. Some of the physicians reported giving a brief but fairly thorough examination, others made no pretense of giving any examination whatever. They merely signed the card. One doctor said he did not know that he was supposed to examine the child before giving him a certificate. Another hung out a sign: "Employment Certificates Signed Here."

Of the 22,448 children who were examined, only 495 or 2.2 per cent were temporarily refused a health certificate. There were only three permanent refusals. Thirteen towns and cities recorded no refusals what-

ever. In the two cities where the work was done in an adequate fashion by a specially appointed physician, 7.4 per cent of the children were temporarily refused a certificate.

In 14 cities and towns the physical examinations were given by the school doctors. In two cities a physician especially appointed for this service did the work. Four localities had the work done by either a private or a school physician, and in one city, practically all the work was done by the private doctors.

The small number of refusals is rather surprising in view of the fact that 47 per cent of our Massachusetts men were rejected in the draft because they were not physically fit for the army.[1] It is partly to be explained by the carelessness and irresponsibility of some of the private physicians who sign certificates, but not all of the school physicians are as thorough and conscientious as health certification of children would seem to demand. Many are overburdened with other work, and can give only part of their time to their school duties—and are inadequately paid for that time. The eventual solution, at least in the larger communities, is full-time service, of a school-health director, adequately paid, and full-time public health units in rural areas. The full-time school physician, or director of school hygiene, should have charge of the general health work of the schools.

The doctor's reluctance to keep children of poor families out of employment because of defects or ail-

[1] The results of the army examinations are partly a reflection of the high standards required. Many persons rejected for the army were accepted for industrial service.

ments bearing no direct relation to occupational hazard—dental and tonsillar affections, for example—is probably the principal explanation of the small number of refusals of certificates. The device of a temporary or "provisional" health certificate would be welcomed by many conscientious school physicians as a means of following up the child and encouraging him to have the indicated medical treatment. This device is authorized in the laws of several states, and might well be adopted here. It allows the child with remediable defects to go to work, but holds him accountable to the examining physician. If the physician feels that the particular defect in question places the child at no greater disadvantage in industry than in school, it is still to be borne in mind that the defect not corrected in school should nevertheless be corrected.

CHAPTER FIVE

OTHER ASPECTS OF EMPLOYMENT

The definition of child labor and its diagnosis in particular cases require consideration not only of the health aspects of employment, but also of such matters as moral hazard and educational and vocational loss. The positive conditions of child welfare in its most inclusive sense must be met in dealing effectively and completely with the negative problem of child labor.

Juvenile Delinquency

Working children contribute far more than their share of the juvenile delinquents. Proportionately six times as many working children as school children 14 and 15 years old were convicted of offenses by the juvenile courts of Boston in 1920.[1] Three-fifths of the 312 delinquent children studied were working children. Thus the latter led both in proportion and in absolute numbers.

Two-fifths of the delinquent working boys were employed in occupations noted for their temptations—newspaper, messenger, delivery and wagon work. The instability of the working child (the child-labor turnover) increases the number of court cases. One-third of the children who had left school for work were idle when they committed their offense.

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[1] Study made by Massachusetts Child Labor Committee—partial results stated in "Why Massachusetts Should Raise the Legal School-Leaving Age," a Pamphlet issued by the Massachusetts Child Labor Committee.

About three-fifths of all the boys had committed serious offenses. Of the boys who were idle—that is, had left school and were not working—three-fourths had committed serious offenses. Recidivists are found more frequently among working boys than among school boys, 45.7 per cent to 39.2 per cent. Two-thirds of all the working boys committed their first offenses after they had left school.

These facts agree with the findings in other cities. A large body of evidence has been accumulated on the relationship between early employment and juvenile delinquency. As Herbert C. Parsons, Deputy Commissioner of Probation, State of Massachusetts, says: "Studies of delinquency clearly show that the behavior of children, as gauged by their appearance in juvenile courts, is better during their school attendance than when out of school or in employment." [1]

However, it is also shown that a considerable proportion of working children appearing in the juvenile court had also appeared prior to going to work. Much of juvenile delinquency begins as truancy. Maladjustment in school is largely responsible for this, but it is by no means proved that the personal problem is solved merely by leaving school and going to work. There may be just as much maladjustment in industry as in school, with an accompanying sense of inferiority and a tendency to compensate for it by self-assertive behavior of an anti-social nature. Moreover, the statement that many continuation-school pupils had appeared in juvenile court while still in the regular schools should be checked up with reference to the out-

[1] Unpublished memorandum.

of-school employment of these children, as in the street trades.

That employment as a direct cause of juvenile delinquency has declined in importance with the passage of legislation excluding children from forms of employment carrying a high degree of moral hazard, is doubtless true. The connection between child employment and juvenile delinquency cannot be adequately shown except by case histories of individual children in their various relationships. It is also true that the delinquency problem of working children need not and should not be considered solely with reference to the work itself. The factors of defective home training and misuse of leisure time influence delinquency. It is not claimed that employment is the sole factor.

In an analysis of the cases of all boys and girls under 18 who were before the courts in seven Pennsylvania counties, "conflict with parental authority" and "thoughless pranks" caused two-thirds of the boys' cases, while one-half of the girls were unmanageable or had run away. As for the cure, Dr. Neva Deardoff of the Children's Commission of Pennsylvania says: "The principal task now would seem to be not the stemming of a rising tide of juvenile delinquency by emergency measures, but the opening of channels for getting to parents, teachers, officials, and all others who must deal with children, first the stores of readily available easily applied methods for the fostering of physical and mental health, and, second, of expert aid in especially difficult problems."

Child idleness is not to be ascribed to child-labor

legislation. The majority of our idle boys and girls between the ages of 14 and 18 are our so-called "working" children. Children of 14 may legally go to work in most of the ordinary gainful occupations, but if for various reasons they are unemployed a good deal of the time, it is not the fault of the law. Indeed, the law in Massachusetts tries to prevent idleness by providing that unemployed boys and girls between 14 and 16 shall be fully occupied (except for normal leisure time) in the continuation or regular schools. There is no way of guaranteeing steady employment for boys and girls or compelling them to work continuously. We have already spoken of the fluctuations of child employment and the industrial instability of child workers.

Educational Deficiency

Regardless of whatever physical or moral hazard, or vocational waste, may be associated with juvenile employment, there is curtailment, through early school-leaving, of educational advantages. Numerous studies show that prolonged schooling, either of a general or a specialized character, pays in dollars and cents, as measured by later earning capacity. Of course there are many pupils who seem to reach the limits of profitable school attendance earlier than others, but (at least so far as children under 16 are concerned) this may be due to the failure of the schools to adapt themselves to the needs of different types of children. Curriculum and teaching methods should be such that all children under 16 could profit by staying in full-time (or in some cases half-time) schools.

Dean Everett W. Lord of the College of Business Administration, Boston University, has recently studied the effect of education on average incomes at different ages and on total life earnings. The figures are based on reports of the Massachusetts Department of Labor and Industries and on statistics of the earnings of students and graduates of the College of Business Administration:—

The Untrained Man. He goes to work as a boy of 14—reaches maximum income at 30, on the average less than $1,200 a year. Since his income is largely dependent on physical strength and manual dexterity, it falls off at 50 or earlier, to a point below the level of self support. More than 60 out of every 100 untrained workers are dependent upon others for support at the age of 60. Total earnings from 14 to 60 average about $45,000. Not more than $2,000 is earned in the four years that would have given him a high school education.

The High School Graduate. He goes to work at 18, passes the maximum of the untrained man within seven years, rises steadily to his own maximum of approximately $2,200 at 40, and continues at that level for the remainder of his own active life. Total earnings from 18 to 60 average about $78,000. The $33,000 more than that earned by the untrained man represents the cash value of a four-year high school course.

The College or Technical School Graduate. His permanent earnings begin at 22, although a considerable amount may be earned during the college course. By the time he is 28, his income equals that of the high school graduate at 40, and it continues steadily to rise, practically without a break. Since his income is dependent upon his mental ability and

training, constantly improved by practice, it increases instead of diminishes with the years. The average of $6,000 at 60 is often surpassed. Total earnings from 22 to 60 (not including anything earned during the college period) average $150,000. The $72,000 more than that earned by the high school graduate represents the cash value of college or technical training.

Of course, the amount of schooling is not the only factor in success or earning capacity, but other things being equal it is hardly deniable that schooling helps. Schooling added to ability is the most effective combination, while the right kind of schooling develops ability.

The function of the schools is not only to instruct, but also to discern talent and to develop it; to aid in self-discovery and self-mastery; to reduce the appalling amount of "illiteracy" in matters of health; to educate the emotions as well as the intellect, and to train in mental hygiene. Education has meaning for leisure, as well as for work. Leisure for workers is increasing—what shall be done with it? There is increasing need of education for the wise and profitable use of leisure—for the development in the individual of intellectual and cultural resources.

Whether a sixth-grade or even a grammar-school education suffices for the duties of citizenship under modern conditions is a serious question, which many thoughtful people are answering in the negative. The citizen is called upon for an opinion on an unprecedented number of important questions—local, state, national, international. Education is the basis of an intelligent public opinion. Ignorance is a civic menace.

Dean Roscoe Pound of the Harvard Law School has said: "In times past, Massachusetts has held a high position among the states in the Union because of the intelligence and education of her population. But the Commonwealth cannot afford to rest content with its conspicuous achievements in the past. In a state primarily devoted to industry, there is the danger that a large, uneducated or partially educated class will develop which in the long run is likely to be politically a danger. No better social insurance could be devised than to make it certain that every person in the Commonwealth has at least that minimum foundation in the way of education that will enable him to grasp understandingly the many questions which will be submitted to him as an elector. The world is increasingly complicated and the education which sufficed amply in a rural, agricultural, pioneer population, will by no means suffice today." [1]

In Massachusetts the educational requirement for an employment certificate is completion of the sixth grade of school, though 15 states have a higher requirement. In 1922 a study by the Massachusetts Child Labor Committee of a group of 324 working children in Boston disclosed the fact that over three-fifths of the boys and two-thirds of the girls were non-graduates of grammer school, while two-fifths of the total number had left school from a lower grade than the eighth. On the basis of employment certificate data for the calendar year 1925, it appears that 37,637 boys and girls left school with a grade accomplishment as follows:

[1] Unpublished memorandum.

TABLE VII

GRADE ACCOMPLISHMENT OF 14-YEAR AND 15-YEAR-OLD MASSACHUSETTS CHILDREN WHO LEFT FULL-TIME SCHOOL FOR WORK DURING 1925 [1]

Grade Completed	Children Completing Specified Grades Before Leaving School For Work	
	Number	Per Cent
Total	37,637	100.0
Below sixth grade (excused for physical or mental reasons)	974	2.6
Sixth grade	12,946	34.4
Seventh grade	8,772	23.3
Eighth grade	9,298	24.7
Better than eighth grade	5,647	15.0

Thus thirty-seven per cent of these children left school with an educational acquirement no higher than that of the sixth grade, and three-fifths had less than an eighth-grade equipment. We concur with the Massachusetts Superintendents' Association that a majority of these working children left school "with too small an educational equipment to prepare them well for the duties of life. In a representative democracy and in this complicated age the obligations and burdens of government laid upon the individual are such as to demand of him an exercise of well-formed and well-balanced judgment, judgment of a character and extent beyond that which may be expected to develop from the meager educational training possessed by the majority of this group. The youth leaving school at 14 years of age with an education be-

[1] Data from State Department of Education.

low that of the eighth grade has too little educational equipment and is too immature to possess the foundation upon which to develop adequate judgment." [1]

As to the reasons why children leave school at 14 or 15, this report shows that, on the basis of returns from 48 continuation schools, dislike for school ranged from 10 per cent to 55 per cent of the reasons given for leaving, and the opinion is expressed that 40 per cent was the average as to a real and vital dislike. This dislike is very real when it is not relieved by proper courses. It is minimized when proper courses are given. The dislike for school seems to arise mainly from a narrow, traditional type of program ill-calculated to arouse and hold interest, and especially from misfit relations between the individual child and the prescribed curriculum. It is also due to slow progress or failure in school. Sometimes it is failure on the part of the child to see the practical value of an education. Oftentimes it is failure on the part of the teacher to see the minor's point of view. These factors of dislike can be removed to a greater or less extent by changed conditions in the schools—a wider variety and choice of courses, more appreciative teachers, and a vitalized program of instruction. Where the dislike of school is due to the parental attitude, it may largely be overcome by the child's own interest and enthusiasm.

[1] Massachusetts Superintendents' Association: "Report of the Committee on School and Age Requirements," p. 10.

Intelligence of School-Leavers

It is a common but erroneous assumption that children who leave school for work at an early age are, in the main, incapable of profiting much, if at all, by further attendance; indeed, it has frequently been asserted, and still more frequently implied, that lack of intelligence equal to the requirements of school work is the determining factor in causing withdrawal. The fact that a larger percentage of school-leaving than of school-staying children are scholastically retarded, while the average or the median intelligence quotient of the former group is lower than that of the latter group, does not justify the conclusions indicated.

Scholastic retardation, a prolific cause of early going-to-work, is itself due to a variety of causes, of which mental deficiency is only one. Irregularity of school attendance is another, and this in turn is due to a variety of causes, including illness. Now scholastic retardation is one of the factors in maladjustment, which is doubtless the truest explanation of dissatisfaction with school. There is the failure of the school to adapt itself to the changing psychology of childhood, particularly at the onset of adolescence, and the attempt to force all individuals into the same mould, regardless of differences in interests and capacities, needs and powers, and kinds as well as degrees of intelligence.

The question of maladjustment, and of the consequent dissatisfaction with school on the part of the child, is a question not of the child alone, but also of the school. To enhance the holding power of the schools—and the profitability of school attendance—there must be schooling opportunities as varied and

vital as children themselves, well adapted to adolescent nature and individual differences, and appealing to the type of mind which manifests interest and capacity in relation especially to the concrete and practical as distinguished from the abstract, the literary, and the academic.

In an article [1] based on a thesis accepted by the University of Chicago as part of its requirement for the master's degree, the author reports a study of a representative group of children who left the Chicago schools for work at the end of the sixth grade. All the children had fulfilled only the minimum educational requirement of the child-labor law and were between the ages of 14 and 16, being therefore at least two years retarded in school. A careful study of the group led to the following conclusions:

1—That practically 95 per cent of these retarded children were capable of making progress much further than the sixth grade if physical, social, and environmental limitations were removed in order to give them a fair chance (only four children out of the entire group were mental defectives); 2—That retarded children starting to work under the present conditions are not "better off at work," do not make progress in the industrial world, and are merely added to the already overlarge army of incompetents; 3—That the present Illinois child-labor and compulsory-education laws are inadequate, in so far as they permit children who are capable of receiving further instruction to leave school at the end of the sixth grade.

[1] Roach, Marcella E.: in *The Nation's Health*, August 1925.

In Cincinnati, Dr. Helen T. Woolley found that while all of the very inferior children are eliminated from the schools by the age of 16, the group which goes to work early is not composed exclusively of inferior children. "The range of ability among those who leave school as soon as the law allows is exceedingly wide. It extends all the way from those who are feeble-minded up to the most brilliant children in the school." [1] In New York City, Dr. Ruth Swan Clark, in an intelligence survey of continuation-school children, found that intelligence ranged all the way from eight-year mentality to superior and very superior intelligence. Superior or very superior intelligence was found among 8.5 per cent of the group.[2]

Intelligence tests given to children in Massachusetts yield a lower median intelligence quotient for continuation-school than for regular-school pupils. The Hopkins' study of "The Intelligence of Continuation School Children" [3] is especially well known. The median intelligence quotient of continuation-school as compared with regular-school children, as found in four different communities, is shown to be notably below that of children of the same ages remaining in the regular schools. This showing should be cautiously interpreted. Dr. Hopkins emphasizes the median intelligence quotient, but not the distribution of intelligence among the working group. By recasting

[1] Woolley, Helen T.: "The Routine Job and the Routine Child," in *Vocational Guidance Magazine*, May 1923.

[2] Clark, Ruth S.: "The Continuation School," in *The Survey*, January 8, 1921.

[3] Hopkins, L. Thomas: "Intelligence of Continuation School Children," Harvard University Press.

his tabular data, however, it appears that among the group of continuation-school children making the poorest showing as to median intelligence, seven per cent are undoubtedly of superior or very superior intelligence. The great majority of working children in each group have degrees of intelligence well inside the upper and lower extremes of the scale. The extent to which the curves of distribution overlap when the curve for the working children is superimposed upon that for the school children should be especially noted.

If we take it, as other studies in Massachusetts cities seem to indicate, that working or continuation-school children generally have a median intelligence quotient of approximately 88 or 90, it is obviously the fact that fifty per cent have a quotient as high as that or higher. Children with an intelligence quotient of 90 or above cannot possibly be regarded as "dull" or "feeble-minded." They are at least "average" children. Moreover, it may be that the tests commonly used tend to favor children with the type of intelligence demanded for success in school work of the customary sort. The continuation-school children are not necessarily lacking in intelligence, they may only be relatively deficient in intelligence as measured by the tests. Thorndike speaks of "three fairly distinct intelligences"—the abstract, the mechanical, and the social. Moreover, children with the same intelligence quotient vary widely in personal traits, interests, aptitudes, talents, etc., all of which are factors in ability and success, and all of which are capable of training and development under favorable conditions of education.

Not a Question of Feeble-Mindedness

"Clinical experience and observations," says Professor W. H. Burnham of Clark University, "indicate that an intelligence quotient of 70 as the limit of normality should not be taken rigorously. At least clinical reports give cases of individuals with an intelligence quotient of less than 70 who cannot be considered either clinically or socially feeble-minded. Burt would modify this limit considerably, and, as I understand him, not classify adults definitely as feeble-minded unless with an intelligence quotient of 50 or below. The number of individuals in a community suffering from definite feeble-mindedness is usually limited to two or three per cent." [1]

The educational problem of the public schools as it relates to the capacities of the early school-leavers is not, to a large extent, a problem of feeble-mindedness. Joseph Choate once said that "the trouble with the feeble-minded is that there are so many of us." On the other hand, by any proper standard, they are relatively few in numbers; it is partly a matter of definition. According to the best scientific usage, the percentage of feeble-minded in the school population of the country is probably somewhere between one and two per cent. In New Haven it was found by Dr. Arnold Gesell to be about one per cent. [2] In Minnesota the proportion of school children eligible to special classes for subnormals is about two per cent.

[1] Burnham, William H.: "The Normal Mind," p. 254, published by D. Appleton & Co.

[2] Gesell, Arnold: "Exceptional Children and Public School Policy," Yale University Press.

Joseph Lee thinks that one per cent would cover the subnormal children in Massachusetts schools. By subnormal children we are not referring to the lowest grades of feeble-minded children, who are, or should be, in institutions.

For subnormal children there should be special exemptions in the child-labor and school-attendance laws, but also special provision for care and training in the schools. In these respects the situation in Massachusetts is fairly satisfactory. It might be well, however, to require that the State Department of Education set up definite standards and regulations governing the discharge from school of children whom the local superintendent may now excuse if, in his opinion, "their physical or mental condition is such as to render further attendance inexpedient or impracticable." Also some definite system should undoubtedly be established by law or administrative authority to insure vocational supervision of subnormal children certified for employment.

Many subnormal and dull children are better off at work than in school, even in the special classes, but legal exemptions should be fully safeguarded, and facilities established for follow-up. For follow-up the services of special-class teachers, or school-attendance officers, or the juvenile court might be utilized, perhaps in conjunction with the Massachusetts Society for Mental Hygiene. The follow-up in Boston and Springfield, through special-class teachers co-operating with parents and employers, affords a suggestion for required procedure in the state as a whole.

The amount of true feeble-mindedness is undoubt-

edly exceeded by the amount of pseudo-feeble-mindedness, which in a majority of cases is preventable and curable. Many children are apparently feeble-minded because of physical defects and ailments, such as diseased tonsils and teeth, poor nutrition, etc.; others because of shortcomings in the development of habit-systems, particularly in the matter of reading; others because of nervous disorders, including the effects of failure, the sense of inferiority, and forms of pathological inhibition. The timely discovery and treatment of pseudo-feeble-mindedness, by medical and psychiatric measures, has produced seeming miracles in raising the level of mental efficiency. This discovery and treatment should be accepted as an obligation resting upon the schools, though of course the causes are often found in the pre-school years.

Part-Time Schools

A part-time school is a day-time school which gives to the working child an opportunity to gain more education during the period of his employment, combining the two important functions of school training and industrial training. But they comprise two major types, in one of which the trade training is directly under the supervision of the school, while in the other the school training is supplementary to and determined by the trade training.

The part-time schools of Massachusetts are chiefly the continuation schools. As the name implies, these schools continue organized education into the working life of the child. They are the bridge whereby children are helped to pass safely from the full-

time school of childhood to the full-time work of adulthood. They are also a social agency co-ordinating the three factors of the child's environment—school, home, and work.

Before the establishment of continuation schools, the boy and girl of 14 and 15 who left full-time school to go to work faced a complete change. Up to that time the school had cared for him five hours a day. On the day he went to work, the school withdrew its care abruptly, cut all ties, and left the child to sink or swim as best he could. The continuation school, which was planned to help the child through this period of adjustment, was first instituted in this state in 1910 by the City of Boston, which offered classes to children employed in three of the leading industries.

By the Continuation School Law of 1919, Massachusetts extended the compulsory continuation school to all towns and cities having within a calendar year 200 different children between 14 and 16 employed for at least six hours a day. Every child in such a town must attend the school four hours each week while employed and 20 hours a week when not at work, unless he returns to regular day school. The four hours of instruction are to be taken from the regular working time and divided equally between shop and academic work—the latter consisting of English, arithmetic, civics, and hygiene. When the law went into effect in September, 1920, 43 continuation schools opened with an enrollment of 23,504. In September, 1925, there were 48 schools with an enrollment of 15,637. The continuation school is a barometer re-

cording by its fluctuations in enrollment, the fluctuations in business and industry. A boom year for business means a large enrollment in the school. Although the continuation schools are part of the local public school systems, the Commonwealth refunds one-half the cost of maintenance provided the schools meet certain minimum requirements of the State Department of Education.

As formulated by the Director of the Division of Vocational Education of the State Department of Education, the school has the following specific aims and purposes:

"The continuation school should help the minors to determine what there is in their immediate employment and to get the most out of it.

"The continuation school should help the minors to make more intelligent choice of occupations and train them for advantageous placements in these occupations.

"The continuation school should establish co-operative relations between the school, the home of these pupils, and the industries in which the pupils are employed. All of their activities should be used to help explain and interpret to the pupils the interplay of knowledge and life.

"And throughout all of this the exercises should afford the pupils advancement in general education and the development of intelligent citizenship."

That the continuation schools of Massachusetts are accomplishing much in these directions is the almost unanimous testimony of those who have studied the subject. The reader is here referred to the 31-page report of the Massachusetts Child Labor Committee

on "The Continuation Schools of Massachusetts," [1] and also to the report of a special committee of the Associated Industries, [2] which reflects the favorable attitude of employers.

What the continuation school can accomplish is necessarily limited by the amount of time at its disposal and by the immaturity and educational deficiencies of its pupils. Extension of time, in at least one instance, has been accomplished through voluntary agreement. A firm employing many children of continuation-school age effected an arrangement with the school authorities whereby its child employees go one week to school and one week to work. Reports from children, employer, and school all indicate a favorable working of the experiment. The voluntary trying out of this plan anticipates the half-time school which many educators and others wish to be made available for all working children of 14 and 15. [3]

During the past two years a committee of the

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[1] Copies available on application to the Massachusetts Child Labor Committee, 6 Beacon Street, Boston.

[2] Associated Industries of Massachusetts: "Report on the Continuation School System in Massachusetts," (mimeographed).

[3] The time allotment in this continuation school is that of the so-called co-operative school, that is, half-time in school and half-time at work, on an alternating basis. In the typical co-operative school, of which there are several examples in Massachusetts, one or more employers in a particular industry enter into contract with the school authorities to furnish, jointly, vocational training of high-school grade and to divide the expense. Attendance is voluntary on the part of the pupils. In the typical continuation school, attendance is compulsory for employed children of prescribed ages, who are not enrolled in some other school.

Massachusetts Superintendents' Association has made a careful and comprehensive study of the present schooling facilities in the state, their past accomplishments, their present inadequacies, and their future possibilities. Among the committee's recommendations, which were unanimously accepted by the Association, was the following: "that minors over fourteen years of age who have completed the sixth grade may enter employment on half-time plans approved by the Commissioner of Education, and to require School Committees to provide educational programs suitable for minors over fourteen and under sixteen years of age." [1]

These and other recommendations were incorporated in a bill proposed to the legislature of 1926 by the Commissioner of Education. The Commissioner declared on his submission of this bill—since referred to the next legislature—that it meets "the particular needs of the minors involved. It secures for them at least a full year of added school attendance. It capitalizes both the valuable assets and opportunities of the school and actual employment; longer schooling, establishment of work habits, adequate guidance, vocational training, and it enables those who have real economic necessity to contribute substantially to their support." [2]

The half-time plan, as contemplated, substitutes half-time schooling for the present four hours a week in a continuation school. This may be by half-days,

[1] Massachusetts Superintendents' Association: "Report of the Committee on School and Age Requirements," p. 15.

[2] For provisions of bill, see Chapter VII, pp. 122-123.

weeks, or otherwise, provided the child actually attends school at least 20 full weeks during the school year under conditions defined by the school committee and the Commissioner of Education. It may be in the regular school, a special class, a continuation school, a co-operative course in a vocational school, or in an approved private school. It may be in the town of residence or in the town of employment and especially may be in the latter if the town in which the child resides does not offer the type of part-time education he desires. In this case his expenses and tuition are paid by his home town on the same plan as for pupils now attending high school in another town. Completion of the eighth grade of school, or an equivalent, is set as the standard, attendance at school half-time on specially provided courses and under special direction for two years being accepted as an equivalent to the accomplishment of two grades in the regular schools. All children up to 16 years of age would be in school either on full-time or half-time. Children 16 or over are not affected by the recommendations.

That the half-time alternating plan is suitable for working children in diversified industries and occupations is shown by the experience of Wisconsin with half-time continuation schools. Wisconsin is the only state thus far to require half-time attendance at continuation schools, though a number of states require eight hours a week as against four in Massachusetts. An excellent comparative discussion of the part-time continuation school and the part-time co-operative school may be found in Paul H. Douglas's "American Apprenticeship and Industrial Education."

The Poverty Question

"He must because his parents are poor" has long been recognized as one of the chief reasons why children leave school to go to work at the earliest age the law allows. How large a part poverty actually plays in this school-leaving has been the subject of many investigations, resulting in a multiplicity of answers. This confusion both in discussion and in research is partly due to the use of such variant terms for the poverty factor as "economic causes," "economic reasons," "economic pressure," "economic necessity," etc., with these terms often ill-defined and always difficult of application in making surveys. The findings range from five per cent in a strict interpretation of economic necessity, or poverty, to 60 or 70 per cent where broader terms or looser methods are employed. Of course, too, localities vary in economic levels and in the effectiveness of organized social work.

A prolific cause of school-leaving, and one which is often difficult to separate from the economic factor, is "dislike of school." The two may be combined in the same case. As the data in most school-leaving studies are derived from the children's own say-so, without case investigation, either reason may be given when the other is the real cause. A child may tell the investigators that his family needs his help when really he has an intense hatred for school work, or a sensitive child may cover his family's need with the nonchalant "Oh, I got sick of school." It is easy to exaggerate or minimize the economic factor, but unquestionably it is important, perhaps about equally with the dislike-of-school factor. Chicago reports 60

per cent of the early withdrawals as related to conditions in school as against 40 per cent related to economic conditions in the home. The National Industrial Conference Board says that on examination of numerous studies "it would seem that necessity is the chief factor in going to work for 30 to 40 per cent of working children under 16 years of age." [1]

The Massachusetts Superintendents' Association found that in a few places "economic necessity occasioned as much as 60 per cent of the reason for leaving. In a majority of cases the average was about 25 per cent, and the lowest reported for this reason was 10 per cent." [2] But the definition used may be questioned: "the actual need at the home for the added income which the minor can make to secure a reasonable standard of living." A better definition and one more easily followed and interpreted would be that suggested by Prof. John M. Brewer: "Economic need as a controlling power to school-leaving should mean that there is no other alternative to the actual support of the child himself then his own self-support."

The economic condition that sends children to work is often a matter of near-poverty rather than abject poverty. The difficulty in making both ends meet and particularly the desire of parents and children for getting some of the comforts and luxuries of life aids the school exodus. Such desire on the part

[1] "The Employment of Young Persons in the United States," National Industrial Conference Board.

[2] Massachusetts Superintendents' Association: "Report of the Committee on School and Age Requirements," p. 18.

of the parents has been found everywhere by vocational counsellors and social workers to wield a tremendous influence. The tendency is often carried too far with unnecessary sacrifice of the children's interests. Many times radios and automobiles figure in the economic explanation of early school-leaving.

Children of parents who left school early to go to work on account of poverty tend to repeat the family history in this respect. Many studies have shown this tendency, which is summed up by Ralph R. Holben, in his report of the case records of one hundred poor families known to the Associated Charities of Allentown, Pennsylvania, as follows: "The poverty of poor parents tends to curtail the school opportunities of their children as shown by the fact that the correlation between the average education of parents and the average education of children, which is positive and high for the general population, was negated in the case of these poverty-stricken families. Economic pressure and the consequent necessity of poor parents capitalizing the earning capacity of their children result in a situation where equality of educational opportunity is essentially non-existent for such children." [1]

An informal survey of 61 children between the ages of 14 and 18 who came from families known to the social workers of Boston and vicinity was recently made. [2] All these children were working during 1925 and had been working from a few months to four

[1] Holben, Ralph R.: "Poverty With Relation to Education," p. 187, University of Pennsylvania Press.

[2] From an unpublished survey by Stockton Raymond, Secretary, Family Welfare Society, Boston.

years. All but six had left school at 14 or 15. Of the group, 24 had left because of economic necessity, while 11 others gave as their reason the desire to earn money. Stockton Raymond in his summary of the survey says: "For the most part the education of the parents of the children going to school, between the ages of 14 and 16, was meagre, few of them having progressed beyond the grammar grades in school, and many of them being illiterate or having left school long before they had completed the grammar grades."

The measures for relief of poverty in Massachusetts are many and varied and are both public and private. Each town and city has its overseers of the poor, who are in charge of administering the public relief to poor and indigent persons, including children. It is fully recognized that it is the duty of the State, in this as in other matters, to regard especially the welfare of the children. In recognition of that duty, the legislature in 1913 passed the Mothers' Aid Bill (amended in 1922), which provided that the State shall aid worthy mothers who are left alone with dependent children, in order that the home may not be broken up. The aid is furnished while the children are under 14 and until they are 16 if it is necessary to enable them to go to school. The act specifies that the mothers receiving such aid are not to be classified as paupers.

"The Mothers' Aid legislation introduced a wholly new principle into what had been, since the landing of the Pilgrims, relief of the poor. The day of doles is gone and the widowed mother is given a substantial allowance not because of the needs of the mother as an individual, but because of her children. Overseers

of the Poor are such no longer but Overseers of the Public Welfare, with an especial duty imposed upon them by the legislature to provide for the welfare of children under their care. These boards form a sort of Administrative Court and the duty is imposed upon them to determine, in the first instance, whether the applicant for aid comes within the classes for whom the state is to provide aid. A careful inquiry must be made to ascertain whether the applicant's family is so situated as to warrant the Overseers in expending the public money. In general, it is where the father of the family is dead or temporarily or permanently disabled from supporting his family. The community has not yet reached the point where it will establish an American standard of living and contribute to the support of all who have by their own efforts been unable to attain it.....

"How far should Overseers go in dispensing the public monies in promoting the welfare of children under their care? For instance, assuming a child in a Mothers' Aid case has shown marked ability in school and promise of benefit to the community, should its education be continued at the public expense after the age of fourteen has been reached? As a concrete case, take a child in the second or third year of the high school at the age of fourteen, should the aid to the family be at once reduced and the child forced to go to work to earn the amount of reduction? I answer unhesitatingly, 'No.' The community should not limit that child's usefulness to save a few dollars. As I have just indicated, there is a limit to what the Overseers feel is justified by the sentiment in the commu-

nity and while it might be very desirable to continue the education beyond the high school and through a college, the public are not yet ready for such a step." [1]

The limitations of public agencies in the expenditure of money to make possible the further education of dependent children are not felt so keenly by the private relief agencies of the state. The child-caring agencies usually plan to give to each of their charges as much school training as his abilities warrant. If college or technical school seems advisable, it is frequently given. What the private agencies can do is limited by the money their interested public contributes to their work.

For the ambitious boy or girl who wants to continue in school but who finds it necessary to help the family budget, scholarships are sometimes available. By substituting a grant of aid for the child's weekly wage, many clubs, organizations, and church groups have made it possible for children to obtain further schooling. A study of the available scholarship funds in Boston and the need for them has been made under the auspices of the Women's Educational and Industrial Union.[2] Six funds were available from which 147 children received aid during the year 1922-1923. On the basis of an analysis of the causes of leaving school, there were 2,324 boys and 1,917 girls who probably would have continued with their education had financial assistance been provided. That resources

[1] Whitman, Edward A.: "The Public Relief Officer and Child Welfare," pamphlet published by the Massachusetts Department of Public Welfare, pp. 2-3.

[2] Schlichting, Louise A.: "A Lariat for Opportunity," *The Survey*, December 15, 1923.

of this kind have not increased to an extent even approaching adequacy is undoubtedly true not only of Boston but of Massachusetts as a whole.

CHAPTER SIX

LAWS AND LEGISLATIVE STANDARDS

It is an error to suppose that the child-labor problem is going to be solved by legislation alone, much less by negative, prohibitory legislation. The frequent assumption that child labor is a specific disease to be cured by a specific remedy has caused a good deal of mischief. The erroneous notion persists that all that is necessary to do about child labor is to administer a large dose of law, and the larger the better. The task is not so easy as that. Child labor is not fully to be understood apart from the positive elements of child welfare, and the child-labor problem cannot be solved by itself, apart from other problems of child and social welfare. There is no panacea.

Function of Child-Labor Laws

The recognition of the child-labor problem is seen in the passage of child-labor laws, now inscribed on the statute books of every one of the forty-eight states. These laws may be taken as expressing not only public condemnation of child labor but, to a certain extent, the public opinion of the time and place as to what constitutes child labor. In thus legislating, not only the work itself is considered, but its infringement upon any of the rights of childhood.

In spite of all this, there are widely current misconceptions of the purposes which laws, as a part of child-labor reform, are designed to serve. Illustrative

of these misconceptions is the following comment contained in a letter: "I don't believe in child idleness.. ..Nobody was ever injured by work." This persistent ascription to child-labor reform of a point of view and a purpose absolutely foreign to its spirit and effect is nothing less than astounding. Idleness is not the necessary alternative to child labor. Attending school is not idleness—it is a job of considerable importance, and one for which children should be taught a sense of present responsibility. It is a job that makes heavy demands on energy and health. Wholesome, abundant play, such as school children need—and employed children, too—is not to be identified with idleness. Is the play and playground movement an idleness movement?

Suitable work activities at home or at school, in clubs, or for that matter in factories, are not idleness. Membership in such organizations as the Boy and Girl Scouts, or the Woodcraft League, indicates profitable activity, rather than idleness. "Nobody was ever injured by work"—no, not by work *as work,* but a good many persons have been injured by the wrong kinds and conditions of work, such as excessive hours, work in improper surroundings, work in extra-hazardous occupations, waste of time (and worse) in blind-alley jobs, work bearing no relation to the child's physical or mental capacities. Child-labor laws are directed against these evils.

That work is good for children is neither deniable nor denied, and the same is true of the proposition that child idleness is bad. Rational child-labor reform accepts both propositions, and plans its program ac-

cordingly. It is concerned negatively with child idleness, child labor, and (related to both of these evils) juvenile delinquency; while positively it is concerned with establishing for all children their right to wholesome, abundant play, to work of proper kind and amount, and to adequate schooling. Child-labor reform, obviously, is much broader in scope and function than child-labor legislation.

Even such laws as may be desirable depend upon prior happenings in the minds and hearts of men and women. There is child labor that laws are not adapted to reach, but only love of children and a comprehension of their needs and rights. More important than laws, state or federal, are right attitudes toward children and right conceptions of the aim and objective of child-labor reform. The controversy over the proposed amendment to the Federal Constitution developed in many minds the erroneous notion that success or failure in child-labor reform was staked upon its outcome. This is not true. The amendment was not and is not indispensable to child-labor reform. The latter will go on by various means and measures, and as rapidly as public opinion dictates or permits. Nothing is indispensable to child-labor reform except the adequate protection and education of boys and girls, and that will be achieved.

There seems to be a good deal of misunderstanding of what a child-labor law actually does. An exemplary child-labor law limits the daily and weekly hours of labor and forbids night work. It also imposes requirements to be met by applicants for working papers, as completion of a specified grade at school and evi-

dence of physical fitness. Thus it is seen that *regulation* of work and going-to-work is quite as important a feature of a good child-labor law as *prohibition* of work or going-to-work. Moreover, many of the prohibitions apply only to occupations especially dangerous to life or limb, health or morals. There has never existed, and never has been proposed any child-labor law excluding all children from all work. Suitable work under home and school auspices is permitted to children of any age; and work in factories, stores, and so on—that is, in the ordinary gainful occupations—is permitted under prescribed conditions to children above the minimum age, usually 14, in some states 15 or 16, upon which the legislature has determined.

All law—and indeed all government—represents force, but while child-labor legislation has this coercive element it also expresses the social service of law and government. It does not cover the whole of child labor. It does not prevent parents from abusing the labor power of their children in divers ways, nor does it prevent parents from doing all things desirable for their children not only in respect to the training and discipline of work, but also to opportunity for play and school attendance. In any state, it rests with public opinion—and representative government—how fast and how far we shall go in child-labor legislation.

It is especially to be noted that a child-labor law, with its various limitations on kinds and conditions of employment in the gainful occupations, is itself limited. A child-labor law does not insure opportunity for play or provide playgrounds; it does not provide

schools or compel school attendance. Nor does it relieve the burden of poverty which, in many instances, is responsible for early entry into juvenile employment. Child-labor legislation should not exceed unduly the pace of progress in meeting these other needs, though it may and often does serve as a stimulus to more rapid progress and more adequate accomplishment. The principle is that the attack on the problem of child labor must be made along the whole front of child welfare, and not confined to any one point, but that each advance may be used to bring forward the entire line.

The provisions of the child-labor law should correspond with those of the school-attendance law, and both laws should be accompanied on the statute books by a proper and sufficient system of poor relief. This favors effective administration all around, and precludes the injustice that might result from discrepancies and inconsistencies, which when discovered should be corrected. So the child-labor movement allies itself with the "children's code movement," which has for its object the simplification, co-ordination, and standardization of all the laws of a given state relating to children. The function of the whole body of law and administration is to enrich and make secure the realm of childhood, and the greater the unity the greater the service, especially if the general level be high. In Massachusetts there are doubtless some faults of articulation in the system of laws affecting children, and the question has been raised whether they present a situation calling for special study and general readjustment.

While we do not assert that the position of Massachusetts in child-labor reform, as compared with the position of other states, can be accurately determined by a comparison of laws, we regard as unfortunate the not uncommon assumption or belief that the Massachusetts statutes represent, in all important respects, the highest standards to be found in existing child-labor legislation. It is difficult, on the sole basis of statutory provisions, to say that one state is rendering better or more effective service to working children than another which seems to have reached a similar stage of advancement. This is not a matter alone of exceptions and exemptions in the law, and of varying forms of phraseology, but also of the relative development of recreational and educational facilities, educational and vocational guidance, part-time co-operative and continuation schools, efficiency in the matter of physical examinations and health supervision, and so on.

Present Standards in Massachusetts

It is now the law of Massachusetts that no child under 14 may be employed in any gainful occupation, except domestic service and farm labor, and except (under specified conditions) street trades. A child may enter full-time employment at 14, except in listed or otherwise prohibited hazardous occupations,[1] but only on obtaining an employment certificate from the Superintendent of Schools or other officer designated by the local school committee. To secure this certificate he must present evidence showing that he has

[1] Appendix, pp. 158-160.

reached his fourteenth birthday, that he has completed the sixth grade of school, and that he is physically fit for the work in which he is to engage. He already must have obtained from his prospective employer a written promise of employment, showing specifically the character of this employment. As each employment certificate is good only for the work specified, it goes to the employer who keeps it available for inspecting officers, and returns it to the issuing officer when the child changes his employment.

Regular employment certificates are required of all employed children between 14 and 16 years of age, except children of these ages in agriculture, private domestic service, and profitable employment at home, to whom special certificates are issued. All children working under certificates for full-time work except those in agriculture or domestic service must attend continuation school (which is held in the day time) at least four hours a week, but if unemployed must either attend continuation school 20 hours a week or return to regular schools. The four hours' weekly attendance is on "the employer's time", that is, without deduction of wages.

Besides these certificates for full-time employment, certificates are issued for children employed on days when the schools are not in session, on holidays or during vacations, and for children eligible as to age and education for regular employment but at work only during hours when the schools are not in session. Licenses are required for children between 12 and 16 years of age for work as newsboys, vendors, and bootblacks, and a badge must be worn.

Educational certificates are required of boys and girls between 16 and 21 years of age for certain listed occupations, including all of those prohibited to minors under 18 and the majority of those in which illiterate minors—who are obliged to attend evening or other school—are likely to be engaged. A physical or health requirement is imposed only in the case of children under 16 receiving the regular employment certificate.

The function of certificates is to make administratively possible the enforcement of the provisions of the statutes relating to child employment and school attendance. Certification is a vital and important part of the system of child-labor protection.

Comparisons With Other States

For the following comparisons of the Massachusetts law with the laws of other states, instead of attempting to cover every point that might be considered, we have selected a few provisions which we think are really significant from the standpoint of possible improvement in our own statutes. These comparisons are made for purposes of information.[1]

Basic Age Minimum

Briefly, the age minimum in Massachusetts for going to work in factories, stores and certain other places of employment is 14, without exemptions.

Seven states have a corresponding age minimum of 15 or over, as follows:

With exemptions limited to outside school hours;

[1] The following statements are based on data available and compiled about January 1, 1926.

Maine, 15; Michigan, 15; Ohio, 16[1]; Rhode Island, 15.

With exemptions not limited to outside school hours; California, 15; Montana, 16 (no age minimum for stores); Texas, 15.

School Attendance Age

In Massachusetts, the upper age of compulsory full-time school attendance is 16, but children who have met the requirements for working papers may leave at 14.

In three states (Maine, North Dakota and South Dakota) the corresponding age is 17, but children qualifying for work certificates are exempted at a lower age.

Two states (Oklahoma and Ohio) keep all children in school on full time to the age of 16, except as follows:

In Oklahoma, the attendance required is for only two-thirds of the term.

In Ohio, the following are exempted: Child adjudged mentally incapable of profiting by further instruction; child 14 or over excused by district superintendent of schools under regulations of state department of education to perform necessary work directly and exclusively for parent or legal guardian; child attending half-time co-operative classes; graduate of high school.

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[1] High school graduate under 16 may obtain certificate for work during school hours. There are exemptions under specified conditions for children adjudged mentally incapable of profiting by further instruction.

Educational Qualification

In Massachusetts, completion of the requirements of the sixth grade of school is required of children certificated for employment. An exemption is made for the child mentally incapable of meeting this requirement, provided the applicant has attended school seven years.

Two states have a seventh-grade requirement: California and Ohio. The latter exempts children incapable of profiting by further instruction.

Thirteen states require completion of the eighth grade or a common school course: Delaware (with exemptions), Indiana, Kansas, Minnesota, Montana, Nebraska (with exemptions), New York (eighth grade, 14 to 15; sixth grade, 15 to 16), North Dakota (with exemptions), Utah (with exemptions), Oregon, Vermont, Washington (for child 14 to 15 and only where continuation schools are established), Wisconsin (with exemptions). In North Dakota and Wisconsin, an exemption is made for children who have attended school nine years; in Washington, for children mentally incapable of profiting by further instruction.

Health Requirement

In common with 29 other states, Massachusetts makes legal provision in regard to the child's physical fitness for employment; and in common with 21 others[1], makes mandatory an examination by a physician before issuance of working papers. In Massachusetts this examination must be made and the

[1] Exemptions in two of these states.

health certificate signed by "a school or family physician or by a physician appointed by the school committee." In most communities any physician may sign this certificate, since the term "family physician" is capable of the widest interpretation.

In 20 of the states in which a physical examination is mandatory, it may be made only by a school or public health physician or by a physician especially appointed for the purpose: Alabama[1], Arizona, California, Connecticut, Delaware, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kentucky, Maryland, Minnesota, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania[2], Rhode Island, Tennessee, Virginia, West Virginia.

Re-examination of Workers

Re-examination by a physician is implied in Massachusetts by the necessity of obtaining a new employment certificate for each new position. This is not specifically required by law. Massachusetts has no legal requirement for periodical re-examination.

Requirement of re-examination is implied, in the same way as in Massachusetts, in the following states: Alabama, Arizona, California, Connecticut, Indiana, Iowa, Kentucky, Minnesota, New Hampshire, West Virginia.

It is specified in Delaware, Illinois, Maryland, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Virginia.

Periodical re-examination is mandatory in Vir-

[1] Physician, if not a public health or public school physician, must be "authorized" by chairman of the county board of health.

[2] Physician must be "approved" by board of school directors.

ginia, the employment certificate becoming invalid in 12 months if meanwhile the child has not been re-examined and a new certificate issued. In Missouri, the employment certificate becomes invalid at the end of three months and an extension is conditional upon a satisfactory showing on the part of the child that he is in good health. Under the New Mexico law the application for an employment certificate must "show" that the child is in "good physical health," and the certificate must be renewed at the end of six months.

In Connecticut, Delaware, and Pennsylvania the law expressly permits the physician, whenever he deems it advisable, to issue a certificate of physical fitness good only for a limited period, at the end of which time the child must return to the issuing office and be physically re-examined. Temporary certificates are issued in some states where they are not expressly authorized in the statutes.

Employment Certification

In Massachusetts employment certificates (regular) are required up to the age of 16. (Educational certificates are required from 16 to 21, but not for all employments and without any physical requirement.)

Regular employment certificates are required up to 17 or 18 in the following states: Indiana, 18; Michigan, 18; Montana, 18[1]; Nevada, 18; New York, 17; Ohio, 18; Oregon, 18[2]; Washington, 18; Wisconsin, 17. (Certificates of age are also required in certain

[1] Where continuation schools are established.
[2] Under continuation school law.

states and for certain occupations above the regular employment-certificate age.)

Maximum Hours of Labor

In Massachusetts, the maximum hours for minors between 14 and 16 are 8 a day (48 a week) and for minors between 16 and 18 years of age, 9 a day (48 a week).

The following states have an 8-hour day for minors between 16 and 18 years of age, applying at least to work in factories: California, Washington (by order of the Industrial Welfare Commission), Wisconsin (cigar manufacturing only); and for girls only, Arizona, Indiana, Nevada and Ohio. (In addition, some states under their hours-of-labor laws for females fix a minimum 8-hour day for female minors.)

Continuation-School Attendance.

In Massachusetts, continuation-school attendance for employed children is compulsory up to 16. Both the establishment of schools and attendance upon them is compulsory. The child is required to attend four hours a week.

Of states where establishment and attendance are both compulsory, the following require attendance to an age higher than 16:

Michigan, up to 17; California, Missouri, Montana, Nevada, New York, Oklahoma, Oregon[1], Utah, and Wisconsin, up to 18.

In the following states (where both establishment

[1] Evening school accepted as substitute.

and attendance are compulsory), more than four hours of weekly attendance is required:

Arizona, 5; Iowa, 8; Michigan, 8; Nebraska, 8; New Jersey, 6; New Mexico, 5; New York, 4 to 8; Oregon, 5; Pennsylvania, 8; Wisconsin, half-time to 16 and 8 hours from 16 to 17.

Accident Compensation

In Massachusetts there is no special provision in the statutes for extra compensation in cases of industrial accident to illegally employed minors.

Under the workmen's compensation laws of three states double or triple compensation is awarded in such cases, and the employer, not the insurance company, must meet the additional costs. Wisconsin gives triple compensation in cases where the child is employed in prohibited occupations and double where the illegality is in the certification; New York and New Jersey, double.

National Committee Standards

The National Child Labor Committee has formulated a set of legislative standards which it believes should be found in the statutes of all the states. These minimum standards do not preclude the adoption of provisions applicable to special conditions within a given state, but rather are offered as representing the indispensables:[1]

I. No child under 14 years of age to be employed, permitted, or suffered to work at any gainful occupation except in domestic service or agriculture.

[1] *The American Child*, February, 1926, p. 4.

II. No child under 16 years of age to be employed, permitted, or suffered to work:

1. At any work known and declared to be dangerous, injurious, or hazardous for children under 16 years of age. Places and occupations known to be dangerous or hazardous for children under 16 years of age should be enumerated in the law, but authority should be delegated to some state board or commission to extend the list.
2. After 7 P. M. or before 6 A. M.
3. For more than 8 hours a day or 6 days or 48 hours a week.
4. Or unless the employer procures and has on file a work permit issued by a proper school official upon the following conditions, except that no work permit is to be required for employment in domestic service or agriculture.
    (a) A promise of employment by the prospective employer showing the exact nature of the work.
    (b) Legal evidence, documentary wherever possible, that the child is of legal age for that specific employment.
    (c) Evidence that the child has completed the 8th grade of the public school course or its equivalent. If all other requirements are complied with, this requirement should be waived during the time the public school of the district in which the child resides is not in session, a special vacation work permit being issued.
    (d) A statement by an authorized physician, showing that upon examination he finds the child of such devel-

opment and in such state of health as makes him physically fit for that special employment.

III. No child under 18 years of age to be employed, permitted, or suffered to work at any occupation or in any place known and declared to be dangerous, injurious, or hazardous for children under 18 years of age. Places and occupations known to be dangerous, injurious or hazardous for children under 18 years of age should be enumerated in the law, but authority should be delegated to some state board or commission to extend the list.

It will be noted that the Massachusetts law falls short of these standards in two important respects. Here, it is not required that physical fitness shall be certified only by a specially appointed or authorized physician, the law allowing any physician to examine and certify. Another shortcoming of the Massachusetts law is the low educational qualification for an employment certificate.

CHAPTER SEVEN

REMAINING TASKS AND PROBLEMS

On the basis of facts and considerations stated in the foregoing chapters, it may properly be concluded that the child-labor situation in Massachusetts is no longer spectacular or dramatic, but that it does present tasks and problems of challenging importance for the welfare of both the children and the Commonwealth. At the beginning of this report the question was asked, "Where does Massachusetts stand today in child-labor reform?" We may now answer, "It stands in a position to go forward." The traditions of Massachusetts are progressive, and to those traditions Massachusetts will assuredly remain true.

The Past a Preparation

The achievement of the past is cause for gratulation. The present deficiencies in respect to child-labor protection are not primarily or chiefly due to public or legislative indifference to the rights and interests of childhood. These rights and interests, in all probability, have never been so widely or so highly regarded as now. The shortcomings and omissions in child-labor protection are largely due to insufficient knowledge of the situation as it now exists, and to divisions and uncertainties of counsel. In many ways, just because of the advanced stage of child-labor reform in this Commonwealth, the tasks and problems have become in themselves more complex and more difficult.

Conditions calling for correction are less obvious, and to decide upon the appropriate procedure is less easy.

The child-labor situation is never stationary. The facts regarding it are constantly changing. Numerous factors—social, economic, educational, legislative—affect it. There is need of continuing study and research to keep up to date the available information about this changing situation, and to illuminate the varying tasks and problems. There is need of keeping the people ever mindful of the existence of these tasks and problems, never forgetful of their duties and responsibilities with regard thereto. There is need of organized effort leading to intelligent social action. There is still need of unceasing vigilance to preserve the gains already achieved, for every year sees the introduction of measures on Beacon Hill which would weaken or remove some of the legal safeguards established in the past, particularly in the matter of hours. The child-labor movement still has its place and function in Massachusetts.

Questions of Legislation

Two legislative proposals endorsed by this Committee relate to the group of 14-year and 15-year-old children. One of these proposals, designed to extend the present schooling opportunities, would require:

a. That all children, except those specially exempted, remain under school supervision until 16 years of age, provided that minors over 14 years of age who have completed the sixth grade may enter employment on half-time plans approved by the Commissioner of Education; and

b. That school committees, unless exempted by the Commissioner for specific reasons, provide educational programs suitable for their minors and subject to approval by the state authority.

We believe that this proposal (more fully discussed elsewhere in these pages) [1] is based on data of study and research which adequately establish both the desirability and the feasibility of the forward step recommended to the legislature of 1926 by the State Department of Education, the Massachusetts Superintendents' Association, the Massachusetts Civic League, and other agencies and organizations.

The other measure would help correct a defect in the law relating to the physical examination of minors applying for employment certificates. Physical examination of such minors has been required in this state for a number of years. Investigation, however, has shown that the careless or hasty examination given by many family and school physicians has sometimes had serious results. At present, a statement signed by any physician that a child is physically fit to work at his prospective job is sufficient legal evidence of that fitness. The proposed amendment requires that the examining physician, who shall usually be a physician especially designated by the local school authorities for this service, shall fill in and sign an examination form approved by the state authorities. Most important of all it makes the school physician thus defined finally responsible for health certificates in all cases, even when at the parent's

[1] Chapter V, pp. 96-97.

request the actual examination is given by the family physician. In this way the school physician who is responsible can be familiar with the jobs undertaken by these children and can therefore more intelligently guage the child's fitness for his prospective work. Existing abuses would thus be reduced and greater assurance given that the health of every child would be safeguarded (so far as that is possible) at the time of entrance into industry. Improvement would result, too, in the matter of keeping uniform records of the health of school and working children.

Highly desirable is the increase of the number of communities maintaining a full-time school physician who with adequate assistance shall handle or supervise all school and working-paper examinations as an integral part of a comprehensive program of school hygiene embracing the regular and continuation schools. At present the regularly-qualified school physician frequently passes children too hastily, often because his school duties are a side line or because he is overburdened at school with more work than he can possibly handle within the limits of his time and strength. The development of more and better health work in the continuation schools, even where dependence must be largely placed upon nurses and teachers, is an imperative need.

The health effects and hazards of juvenile employment still constitute a controversial question, and effort should be made to clarify the subject by really scientific research. The most fruitful source of data lies in the analysis of records of school and working-paper examinations, in conjunction with data (also afforded

by these records) relative to the work histories of employed children. Dr. Rowell's nutrition study in New Bedford, though incomplete in scope and lending itself to dubious interpretations, sets an excellent example in the utilization of records for research purposes. This study should be supplemented by others, where adequate records are well kept. In one or more of the few Massachusetts cities where this condition is met, the accumulating material should be utilized to enlarge and correct our present knowledge, not only of employment in relation to health, but also of health in relation to employment—that is, of the many and somewhat specialized problems of methodology in health service to working children.

Still another question that deserves the special consideration of all who are interested in the welfare of employed boys and girls has to do with industrial accidents. Is there need of more protection, through law or otherwise, than is now afforded against extra-hazardous jobs and processes? The number of minors under 18 killed or injured every year in industry is sufficient to justify some doubt, even though this number has diminished below the figures of a few years ago. The statutory lists of dangerous occupations prohibited to persons under 18 and to persons under 16 have not been revised or extended in the light of recent experience.[1] The law contains a provision authorizing the State Department of Labor and Industries to extend these lists, and the language relating to children under 16 is general enough to imply

[1] Appendix, pp. 158-160.

their exclusion from any dangerous work in connection with, or proximity to, machinery. The department has done excellent work of a preventive and educational nature both within and without the bounds of the specific lists found in the statutes, but would the protection be greater if, in the case of certain jobs and occupations, the law were more explicit? It would seem so from the results obtained by the Massachusetts Child Labor Committee in a recent study of power-machine accidents to employed persons in the age group 14 to 15 inclusive, and 16 to 17.[1]

Relevant to the whole question of accident hazard is the example of other states in requiring the payment of double or triple compensation in cases of industrial accident to illegally employed minors. New York, New Jersey, and Wisconsin are the three states which are using this method to safeguard more thoroughly their working children. In New York and New Jersey double compensation is paid to all minors under 18 illegally employed, while Wisconsin has carried the principle still farther, giving treble compensation to those children under 18 employed in prohibited occupations, and double compensation where the illegality is concerned with the certification of the child. Employers hesitate to employ children at prohibited occupations if they know that in case of accident extra compensation must be paid, and by them, not by the insurance agency. According to the 1925 report of the Industrial Commission of Wisconsin, the extra compensation has resulted in less illegal em-

[1] Chapter IV, p. 57.

ployment of children. There were 57 cases of child-labor law violations in 1925 as compared with 87 in 1924, and 69 in 1923.

Investigation and Research

Members of Connecticut Valley communities have sought on Beacon Hill the enactment of legislation designed to regulate the employment of children in the tobacco fields of that section; and it has been asserted that children in the onion fields are in like need of protection. The available data clearly indicate the need of a thorough study of the situation. In fact, two distinct though related studies should be made. The first should describe the conditions that exist; the second should consider the appropriate means and methods of correction. If legislation is indicated, a distinction should be recognized between farm work in general and those forms of agricultural production which, conducted on a large-scale, specialized basis, and involving the employment of children in gangs under bosses, take on the aspect of an industry. How this distinction might best be incorporated into unambiguous law that would stand the constitutional tests is a study in itself.

By no means negligible, though involving a relatively small number of children (some hundreds, however) is the problem of vocational supervision of mentally subnormal children released from regular or special classes in the schools and certified for employment. In some cities, according to our information, such children so certified are all in the continuation schools, though not necessarily profiting very much by

their attendance there; but in many cities these children, or a large proportion of them, are not in the continuation schools, and so are lost track of, except as they come back to the issuing officer for a new certificate on change of employment. In one city, in a recent period of six months, 75 subnormal children went into occupations without any follow-up.

In Boston and Springfield there are very good systems of follow-up through the special-class teachers, but in other parts of the state the follow-up is either not systematic or not complete. It is not enough that subnormal juvenile workers be "encouraged to report back to their special-class teachers." There should be a definite supervisory service in connection with these boys and girls, who are even more in need of help in proper vocational adjustment than normal boys and girls. It is quite unlikely that anything adequate will be done, on a state-wide scale, for this group of children, until there has been a study of what actually happens to them in occupational life, and what are their peculiar needs with respect to vocational guidance, placement and supervision.

Perhaps the study with the greatest claim to immediacy would concern itself critically with the administration and enforcement of all the existing legislation relating to school-leaving and going-to-work. This would attempt to show what provisions of law are ineffective, and why; what provisions are neglected, evaded, or violated, and to what extent.

Are certificate-issuing officers hasty or careless in their work; do they see that the documentary evidence required before issuance of certificates is complete

and in proper form; do they issue the certificate in full compliance with the statutes? Do employers promptly return the child's certificate to the issuing officer when the child changes his job? Do certificated children, without delay, attend continuation school for 20 instead of four hours a week, or return to the regular schools, when out of employment? Is there any abuse of the "home permit" issued by the local superintendent of schools allowing children of school age to withdraw from school and engage in "profitable employment" at home? How many employed children are in prohibited occupations, what are their jobs, and how did the children get into them?

Such an inquiry would be even more extensive than these questions suggest. It would doubtless include problems of simplification and co-ordination throughout the whole system of child-labor law and administration.

There is still much to be known concerning the relation of poverty and near-poverty to child employment. Many reports have been published, here and in other states, on the cause of early school-leaving and going-to-work, but almost none can be regarded as an adequate analysis. Causes are seldom disclosed; what are usually discovered are reasons given by parents or children, and then without corroboration by study of cases. "Economic necessity" as a cause or given reason is often carelessly or erroneously defined. A complete and thorough study of the economic factor in early employment is yet awaited. Such a study should get down to actual cases, and an understanding of this factor from the point of view of poor families

themselves. Resources of the community for poor relief and family assistance, and their utilization for keeping children in school should be studied; also the attitude of poor families toward the various forms of relief and aid. The adequacy of children's scholarship funds should be taken into special account. As an aid and supplement to such a study there might well be established a clearinghouse of information whereby the practices and experiences of family-relief societies, social settlements, etc., could be brought into the picture.

The leisure-time problem of the working child is worthy of a comprehensive study. What does he actually do for play, recreation, amusement, self-improvement? What resources and facilities are afforded by home, school, church, factory, clubs, settlements, municipalities, and so on? This leisure-time problem—not only of the working but of the school child—extends into the field of juvenile delinquency, which is undoubtedly, to a large extent, caused by play impulses gone wrong, commercialization of amusement, and lack of time or place for legitimate social satisfactions. In recognition of this need of information the Advisory Council on Crime Prevention, under the direction of its executive secretary, is making an analysis of how the youth of Massachusetts under 25 years spend their leisure hours. The study consists of a triple survey: "First, an analysis of actual case records in the department of mental diseases is being made, seeking general information as to the causes of youthful delinquencies. Secondly, there is to be an analysis of the non-delinquent group, in the effort to discover

what elements in the individual environment of this group differ from environmental conditions of the delinquent group. The third is a community survey, complete in detail, in which social agencies throughout the state are co-operating." To answer adequately the problem of the leisure time of the working child, equal emphasis should be placed on causes of delinquency and on the methods by which that delinquency may be prevented, and the child's life made richer and of more value to both himself and to the community.

Case-work Methods

The aim of social case work, according to Miss Mary E. Richmond,[1] is the development of personality. This is also the fundamental, positive aim of child-labor reform—seeing that children shall have abundant opportunity for full educative growth through the well-balanced activities of play, work, and school. Case work attempts to establish conditions whereby a normal life for individual or family may be possible. In a normal life, five elements may be recognized: health, recreation, education, occupation, and spiritual development. In a normal occupational life, for children or adults, all the other four factors must be considered. But the peculiar requirements of each case will differ. Some children should not embark on occupational life at all, though none should be deprived of the training and discipline of work. This is why effort should be made toward case-work administration of a child-labor law, or in other words, toward

[1] Richmond, Mary E.: "What is Social Case Work?" Published by the Russell Sage Foundation.

a greater flexibility in the system of child-labor protection.

In our opinion, the most important procedure or technique in the newer and broader methodology of child-labor reform is that comprehended in the term "vocational guidance." Vocational guidance is both a method of reform and a mode of service. It begins in the elementary schools and follows the child after he enters employment. It is concerned with his adjustment in school and his adjustment in industry. It takes into account his economic situation at home, and the possibilities of procuring an adjustment there—or some form of financial aid for the further schooling of the promising child who could profit by continued attendance. It is based on knowledge not only of particular jobs but of particular children, thus conforming itself to the vital, fundamental fact about child labor, namely, that it is, essentially, a matter of individual cases, and to the principle that it ought to be dealt with, so far as possible, as a problem in individual adjustment.

Vocational guidance should be established as a definite service in every school system in the state, with some department or officer definitely responsible for the conduct of the work. As such, however, it is found at present in only a few of the larger communities, though in Boston, particularly, it has reached a high degree of development. In these communities, as in others that should be encouraged to follow their example, vocational guidance and employment certification should be closely co-ordinated. They properly go together. Doubtless a great many children are

certificated for employment who might have thought better of leaving school and going to work if they had come in even routine contact with a qualified counsellor.

Something might be done in Massachusetts legislatively to put vocational guidance on a better footing. Some years ago an attempt was made to amend the vocational education law by introducing a bill to finance vocational counselling and teaching, but the bill failed of passage. New York has a law of this sort, and a certificate is granted to teacher-counsellors on the completion of certain courses, the state paying half the salary of such teachers, and the local community the other half. The work is largely that of teaching classes in occupations.

The case-work approach to the child-labor problem implies the use of organized vocational guidance in conjunction with the use of necessary legal restrictions of school-leaving and child employment, and the aim should be to make maximum use of the former and minimum use of the latter. Eventually it may be possible to establish what may be called case-work administration of a child-labor law. This would require the discovery of special techniques and the employment of well-trained administrators. A research project looking toward the formulation of Objective Standards for the Induction of Children Into Occupational Life would contribute to this better way of dealing with child labor on the basis of individual needs and capacities. The problem and project may be briefly set forth as follows:

"Child labor is essentially a matter of individual

cases. This is true from the standpoint of prematurity of school withdrawal, as well as from that of premature, excessive, or unsuitable work. The prohibitions and compulsions of child-labor and school-attendance laws are mass prohibitions and compulsions, depending very largely on chronological age, which may signify very little in the individual case. The exceptions and exemptions in these laws are seldom based on essential points of difference between child labor and suitable work (or going-to-work). In child-labor laws reference is made to occupations in general terms, though even in factory employment there are wide variations in the nature and conditions of the work performed. Child-labor standards supplementary to chronological age (such as completion of a specified grade at school, or requirement of a physical examination) leave something to be desired in the way of adaptability to the individual case. Vocational guidance regards the individual case, but vocational guidance must keep within the law—it should, in some sense, be definitely a part of the law, and especially of its administration.

"The question arises, from all these considerations, what standards capable of incorporation in child-labor law and administration (the burden in child-labor law being thrown to a greater extent on administration) can be formulated which will be an improvement on existing standards in the direction of more adequately dealing with child labor as a matter of individual cases, and especially will reduce the present dependence on chronological age in statutory provisions or even obviate its use? The question suggests study

of the differentia between child labor and children's work, of differences in jobs open to children and in which they are actually employed, and of the existing literature of research into differences in children—and such particular matters as the determination and significance of physiological age, psychological traits, etc. The study would indicate further lines of research, and in its own course would require a system of scoring jobs according to different elements of value, negative or positive. The study would result in the formulation for further discussion of tentative objective standards for the purposes indicated, and would include a statement of the implications which the adoption of those or similar standards would possess with respect to administrative machinery and methods. Consideration would be given to the matter of what belonged to law and what to administration of and under the law." [1]

That safe and suitable employment can be predetermined by the application of any set of tests at the time of entrance into industry is improbable, as experience with physical examinations has shown; but the use of objective standards in accordance with the case methods characteristic of other forms of social work, and in conjunction with the supplementary techniques of vocational and child guidance, should reduce to a minimum the misadventures into occupational life. To work out the possibilities of what may be called case-work administration of a child-labor law is part of the unfinished task belonging to child-labor reform,

[1] Fuller, Raymond G.: "Child-Labor Research" in *Journal of Applied Sociology*, July-August, 1925.

which meanwhile must continue to use such tools and devices as it already has at its disposal. The case-work principle, which has received some practical recognition in this field, must be carried much farther, by development through research and experimentation, so that it can be utilized in something more than a secondary way.

Program in Terms of Problem

Child-labor reform has accomplished much toward freeing children from the bondage which gave it origin, but the movement must guard itself against habits of thought and action that may limit its further potentialities of service. A valid policy and program for today cannot be based on a narrow, anachronistic conception of child labor or on simple faith in legislation as an adequate method of achieving the desired results. Though law and administration present a subject for study, with reference to their proper place in child-labor reform and to the possibilities of their improvement in detail, the time has passed for talking about "legislating child labor out of existence." It cannot be done, and ought not to be attempted. Yet effort must be unceasing until child labor exists no longer.

The tasks of reform, in any given field, are defined by the problem, and the problem is always a present one, a changed and changing problem. The approach and attack must change with the problem itself, with due regard to all the facts and factors in the new situation. To the child-labor movement has come the challenge of making a thorough-going self-examina-

tion, with re-examination of aims and methods. We believe that the movement, not only in this state but in the country at large, is aware of the challenge and is accepting it in a frank and intelligent manner.

Since the beginning of organized reform activities in this country on a nation-wide scale, roughly only a quarter of a century ago, the child-labor situation has greatly changed not only in respect to the number of boys and girls employed under conditions unmistakably harmful or hazardous to their health and welfare, but also in respect to the nature or character of the conditions presenting the immediate problem then and now. The immediate problem twenty-five years ago was undoubtedly that of ending as quickly as possible, by drastic methods, the serious abuses to which children were subjected in connection with their employment in mines, factories and stores. The worst abuses of that time have been eliminated or abated, though others equally serious and almost as spectacular have since appeared in certain industrialized forms of agriculture.

Generally speaking, however, the present situation is chiefly characterized not by the spectacular features of the earlier period, but in industry, by the protective and educational needs of an older group of boys and girls than were formerly the principal object of concern, and in agriculture by the interference of farm work with opportunities for a proper amount of schooling and recreation—indeed, by a notable lack in a large portion of rural America of any real appreciation of those elements other than work that make for a well-rounded childhood. A real difficulty in the

way of ensuring to country children the opportunities to which they are entitled is the economic background of farm life today. The welfare of boys and girls depends, however, not alone upon dollars but also upon attitudes. In rural America there is an imperative task of developing better and more effective attitudes toward the schools and toward play and recreation, together with the ability to recognize distinctions between work that is suitable and work that, because of its intrinsic harmfulness or its effect in depriving children of needful and rightful opportunities outside of work, is child labor.

The urban situation has reached the point, at least in the states with what are called "advanced" standards of child-labor protection, where the problem is conspicuously one of determining by careful study and research the dangers and deprivations attending the children of 14 and 15 who leave school and go to work, and of establishing the arrangements, legal and other, which shall prevent prematurity of school-leaving and render the whole transition from school to work an unbroken process of guidance, education and adjustment in accordance with individual needs. This is a complicated and perplexing task, though some would find its solution, which may turn out to be the only eventual solution, in raising the school age to 16 without exemptions, placing upon the schools the burden of caring adequately—and profitably to the children themselves—for all boys and girls under 16 years of age.

The general situation has changed in response not only to the age, hour and night-work provisions of

child-labor laws and the allied enactments regarding school attendance and employment certification, but also in consequence of forces and developments outside the strict limits of the child-labor movement, though in many instances affected by it. We may mention the minimum-wage and workmen's-compensation laws, the various forms of the movement for industrial safety and factory sanitation, the "welfare work" that characterizes a growing number of establishments, the increased knowledge and practice of the principles of industrial efficiency, the alleviation of poverty through family-relief and other philanthropic agencies, the illuminating results of "child study" and their widespread dissemination with the undoubted effect of enabling adults better to understand and serve childhood, the application in the schools of the newer ideas about education, the extension and differentiation of the curriculum with the introduction of new types of school like the junior high and the continuation school, and the progress made in facilities and methods of vocational guidance.

New Approaches and Techniques

The child-labor movement has passed through several stages in which emphasis was placed successively on remedial, on preventive and on constructive measures of reform. Each of these aspects is still represented in the present approach and methodology, and necessarily so, though the constructive viewpoint dominates both thought and effort. It is the positive good of the child, rather than the negative harm of child labor, that shapes the broader pro-

gram, notwithstanding that the two cannot be sharply separated in analysing the problem and attacking its solution. The inter-relatedness of all the problems of child welfare, including the child-labor problem, has long and often been pointed out; likewise, the fact of difference between child labor and children's work, although, unfortunately, this has sometimes been utilized rather for purposes of defending child-labor legislation than as a basis for effort looking toward the establishment of children's work in the place of child labor—the technique of overcoming evil with good.

But in spite of this progressive trend of thought in child-labor reform, it is true that heretofore the reliance has been mainly on coercive techniques, such as the prohibitions and compulsions of child-labor and school-attendance laws. The really significant change, now under way, is that which sees in the future less importance for coercive and more for non-coercive techniques. We may note also that there is likewise taking place a change from a sentimental to a scientific approach, and that child-labor reform, in spirit and method, is becoming more and more a problem in social science rather than merely a humanitarian enterprise, which of course it still remains and is bound to remain.

To a large extent, non-coercive techniques are already in use in child-labor reform. They embrace all measures which afford opportunity for voluntary, self-expressive action, whether of children or of adults. Measures by which adults can be led to see and do the right thing for children, and children to see and

do the right thing for themselves, without external or legal compulsion, reflect the non-coercive principle. Measures indeed that procure intelligent and willing acceptance and support of necessary restrictions of law and government may likewise be included in the category. So may those measures which tend to make school interesting, satisfying and profitable to boys and girls and which help them to make intelligent choice of occupation and life work.

Non-coercive measures and methods have to do with the attitudes of adults toward childhood, child labor and the procedures of child-labor reform, while in relation to children themselves they have to do with the children's own desires, purposes, and choices in regard to schooling and employment. They are, in sum, the methods of education and guidance. Legislation, as such, coerces employers, parents and children; education and guidance coerce nobody, in the same sense. It should be said, however, that legislation does other things than coerce, since it establishes facilities and services of which voluntary advantage may be taken, and that legislation is not the only form of coercion.

Child-labor reform cannot ignore the local community and be either effective or complete. It should rest on a solid foundation of local sentiment and opinion, and thus exemplify democracy. Nor is this a matter alone of local support of state or federal measures, for there is much that the community can and must do for itself. What the community desires and does for the protection and welfare of its own children lessens the degree of coerciveness involved in the

restrictions and regulations imposed by higher legal authority, while the widespread raising of the level of community life throughout state and nation results, of course, in general advance of standards and actualities. Community progress may be accomplished most satisfactorily by democratic process within itself—that is, by community self-education and self-achievement.

The educational resources of the local community are insufficiently utilized. It is soundly urged that in the education of children the whole community should be a school—and the school a real community. To adults the varied and intimate relationships of the community present a challenge to understanding and adjustment in the interest of community welfare and progress, by means of co-operative study and activity in relation to particular, concrete situations. Some group in nearly every local community has on occasion devoted study to the problem of child labor, but too often solely on the basis of information furnished by outsiders with reference to conditions in state or nation and of current proposals in the field of state or federal legislation. Too seldom the child-labor problem has been conceived as a local-community problem, to be locally confronted. Fully to mobilize community facts and ideals relevant to the local child-labor situation requires the co-operation of diverse elements or groups, and this is true of effort toward adjustment.

It would be well if every community would test its own reaction to the ethical principle stated by John Dewey: "What the best and wisest parent wants for his own children, that must the community want for all

of its children," and ask itself how well it conforms in practice to such an ideal of community life. Very likely it will have to seek information as to the number of children at work, the occupations in which they are engaged, the conditions affecting early school-leaving, the quality of school instruction, the facilities for vocational training and guidance, the adequacy of equipment in the regular and continuation schools, the need and provision for poor relief (including scholarship aid), the amount and kind of health work in the schools, the manner in which health and employment certification is conducted, and a host of other matters, including the numerous group interests and attitudes operative in the situation. Community, know thyself, and act accordingly.

Besides the local-community approach to the problem of child labor, we desire to stress the possibilities of greater co-operation between "reformers" and employers. We deplore the assumption that the two groups must all the time and always act in the spirit of conflict and antagonism. Neither group is single-minded in its views and purposes, and both have common beliefs and motivations. Opinions differ, interests conflict—yet everybody believes in children and the importance of doing everything possible to safeguard and promote their welfare. We suggest that on disputed questions in the child-labor field the opposing forces join hands in co-operative investigation and research. Special studies might well be co-operatively planned, co-operatively conducted and co-operatively reported—with opportunity, of course, for minority reports. This seems to us a rational mode of procedure

with regard to important points at issue. It would acquaint conflicting groups with each other, and unite them in a common purpose—the quest of truth and the doing of justice. We also urge that frequent conferences on child labor be held with representation of all groups concerned and with frank face-to-face discussion of disagreements.

While it is undoubtedly wrong that the welfare of boys and girls should ever be sacrificed to commercial profit, we deprecate the notion that the opposition of employers to specific proposals of reform is always dictated by the pocketbook. The opinions of employers may often be influenced by commercial considerations, but well-meaning reformers are not entirely free from irrational prejudices and passionate dogmatisms. The extremists in the two groups tend to keep even the more reasonable members apart, and the controversy proceeds by means of rival propaganda and *ex parte* argument—two hostile groups fighting each other on every issue, not seldom forgetting the children. The assumption on one side that the employers are banded together to exploit children is matched, on the other side, by the equally erroneous belief that the reformers are all bolsheviks. Little effort is made to secure mutual understanding or to work together. Argument at cross purposes is one of the conspicuous features of the child-labor controversy. That differences of viewpoint and interest will continue to exist may be admitted, but these have to do for the most part with specific measures and methods, not with essential desires and aims capable of withstanding face-to-face discussion. They are subject to examination

in friendly conference, where facts may be pooled, statements and proposals tested by criticism, and humanitarian impulses and ideals mobilized for action.

The fixed division into two hostile camps seems to us illogical and unnecessary, though of course we do not advocate the abandonment of the children's cause by compromise; we urge, instead, the abandonment of the conflict attitude and habit, and, in its place, real effort in the direction of co-operative study and achievement. If employers have never asked reformers to solve the problem of child labor, neither have reformers, generally speaking, invited employers to share in the task. A salutary approach to understanding of the problem is through historical study, which reveals among other things that not employers, primarily, but complex changing conditions antecedent as well as subsequent to the Industrial Revolution, are responsible for the present situation, and suggests that the present situation will yield to a change of conditions, which all parties concerned in the situation can join in helping to bring about.

Non-coercion in child-labor reform has to do especially with the case-work methods already described—methods which join freedom and responsibility in the choices made by the child himself. Educational and vocational guidance allows for self-direction. Its function is that of assisting the child to find and follow the right course of action as he faces crises of decision in school and at work—of making his own adjustments in the light of knowledge related to his need. This principle of self-direction should be observed so far as possible within the school, in lessons

(activities) that take the form of solving problems, carrying out projects, achieving purposes, so that what the child does shall yield its fullest educational value and the holding power of the school be enhanced. For both in the particular tasks falling to the child through the day and week, and in the whole long job of "going through school" (a task to be as worthily performed as any other), it is best for the child and for his education if he understands what he is about—the why and reason of his doing. The task understood, the task that is one's own in purpose, performance and result, is the task that educates and builds character, whether it is large or small, a task of the moment or of years.

One objection to raising the legal school age above 14 is that many boys and girls of this age have no interest in school. Coercive retention of such children may have the virtue of further exposing them to education; but if they lack interest, it is the school's business to have awakened and developed it. The enlistment of the children's co-operation in the business of education is the greatest need of the schools today. This cannot well be accomplished in a schoolroom atmosphere of repression and coercion, but demands teaching methods which give the child a chance to express himself and a curriculum flexible enough to enable him to find himself. Aimlessness in school is usually the school's fault, rather than the child's. It is contrary to the child's nature to be aimless—and it is harmful.

The antithesis between child labor and education indicates one of the chief distinctions between child

labor and children's work. Child labor, in a psycho-educational interpretation, is activity carried on under some sort of external compulsion. It is not self-motivated. A slave, Plato said long ago, is a person whose actions proceed from the mind of another, and there is a sense in which we have "child slaves" in America today. In describing child labor as externally compelled and directed activity, we do not mean that what one does in response to the necessities of a situation always constitutes child labor, for these necessities may be purposively and self-expressively acted upon. When necessity is the mother of invention it is educationally valuable. In children's work, as distinguished from child labor, interest and effort, thinking and doing are joined. The doer and the deed are one. Burnham says that the essentials of education and of mental hygiene are the same. These he designates as "a task, a plan, and freedom. The task in the generic sense includes everything from the immediate and concrete goal of the moment to the objectification of the highest ideals and ends. A plan is necessary to make the work purposive activity. It must be my own task; hence freedom is necessary." [1]

Reflections on the Amendment

The nationwide campaign for and against the child-labor amendment to the Federal Constitution proposed by Congress in 1924 redirected the attention of the public to the child-labor problem, but whether it greatly illuminated that problem may be questioned.

[1] Burnham, William H.: "The Normal Mind," pp. 207-8. Published by D. Appleton & Co.

Child labor was not the only issue debated, nor was the amendment itself considered solely on its merits as a practical measure of child-labor reform.[1] The campaign, by tending to identify child labor with census statistics, or with old spectacular forms of abuse, or with any work of children (whatever its kind and amount); and by associating child-labor reform too closely with legislation, and especially with negative, prohibitory legislation, served to strengthen the hold of unfortunate and erroneous notions from which the public mind had previously seemed to be progressing toward a better understanding of the whole problem.

Opponents of the measure were constrained to argue, in effect, that the reform movement had been highly successful in its past efforts to secure protective legislation. On the other hand, proponents pointed out the shortcomings and deficiencies, some of them very striking, in the so-called backward states. This unwelcome publicity seems to have had a salutary effect in certain of these states, in which there has lately been a commendable raising of legal standards. It may be noted, however, that the long workday of 10 or 11 hours for employed children has been retained in spite of advances in other respects, while in advanced states, like Massachusetts, legislatures have been petitioned by manufacturing interests to lengthen the legal workday.

We think that the case for the Federal amendment

[1] This does not mean that the amendment campaign dealt with irrelevant issues. The questions raised regarding the proposal were doubtless relevant insofar as they were believed to be relevant by either side.

should not have been stated so largely in terms of the legislative shortcomings of the backward states. For various reasons, which we cannot go into here, we are confident that the backward states will sooner or later come forward; they cannot, in self-interest or self-respect, remain so far behind for very long. In our opinion, federal child-labor legislation is desirable, if it is desirable, chiefly on other grounds than what the states have failed to do. Its desirability depends on the value and feasibility of state and federal co-operation in matters affecting the employment of children, and on the question of American participation in international agreements. The establishment of national minimum standards is subordinate to these considerations.

The enforcement of the Federal Child-Labor Acts of 1916 and 1919, during a total period covering several years, afforded a fine example of administrative co-operation between the Federal government and the states, and it is in the administrative rather than the legislative field that the Federal government can be most helpful under any joint system of action and control. The proposed amendment carries no guarantee of a repetition of the previous experience in administrative co-operation.

The amendment controversy emphasized the antithesis between the idea of federal action and the idea of state action, an antithesis which has found expression and evoked emotion in connection with other matters than child labor. It is the antithesis to be overcome in seeking to bring about the desire of many proponents of the amendment, namely, state and federal

co-operation on a functional basis. The plan of such functional co-operation has probably not been worked out in sufficient detail, while the emotional condition of the public mind is not at present favorable to its adoption and success.

The defeat of the amendment does not throw the whole responsibility for child-labor legislation back upon the several states acting severally. The states may act collectively. There are certain aspects of the child-labor situation with which the states cannot individually cope, but this does not necessarily mean that federal action is required. We have in mind the problem presented by children of migratory families following the crops from state to state, or by children who go from their homes in one state to spend part of the year at work in another. A similar difficulty is created where children cross a state boundary and bring back materials for tenement homework. To deal effectively with these conditions, which are by no means of slight extent or of small effect on education and welfare, the states concerned must act together. Under the Federal Constitution a way is open and can be taken.

Section 10 of Article I of the Constitution of the United States says: "No State shall, without the consent of Congress....enter into any agreement or company with another State...." The fact that this authority of the states to make agreements with one another was stated negatively and was placed in a section dealing with limitations on state action, should not be allowed to obscure the significance of what was granted; nor should the fact that the power has been

utilized in the past chiefly in connection with boundary lines, improvement of river navigation, use and conservation of water powers, and the like, conceal from us the possibilities which it possesses for co-operative state action in other fields of social concern. Child labor in its interstate aspect is apparently one of the fields where the compact clause of the Constitution might find useful application and good result. It is not the only one, however, and the regional method of dealing with regional problems might well be extended to the establishment of comprehensive industrial codes.[1]

Child and Education Central

The stereotyped "child laborer" is a ragged, wizened, wretched boy or girl toiling long hours and perhaps at night in a factory. His counterpart may be seen today in the factory or on the farm, but his name no longer is legion. Into the modern picture of the "child laborer" certain new elements have been drawn, without entirely effacing the original; or rather, certain elements have disappeared, and other features not entirely new have come to the fore. The composite "child laborer," of course, has no actual existence, and the "child laborer" is not so much a type as an individual. Nor is he characteristically different from other children. He is, let us not forget, a child. He may be healthy and happy, he may have had too much schooling (of the wrong kind), he may not have come from a home of poverty and instead of a pittance he may

[1] The latter suggestion has been made by Professor Felix Frankfurter of Harvard Law School.

earn sizable wages; yet if his going to work be premature or his employment excessive or otherwise unsuitable, it is child labor.

The study and definition of child labor must be approached from the child side as well as the labor side of the child-labor equation. We should start with the child, his nature and changing needs, and if we would render him service as well as protection, see that he is provided with the activities, experiences and opportunities that belong to childhood and that furnish the conditions of full educative growth. An approach solely from the occupational side, which is stressed too much in many studies and surveys of child labor, involves the practically endless task of classifying all the variable jobs and occupations in which children engage; regards the job or occupation as the only determining factor in child labor, thus ignoring individual differences in children; and assumes that an obviously harmful effect must be found before child labor is predicated.

A valid conception of child labor is based chiefly on the nature of children and the function of childhood, and so depends on knowledge and recognition of positive needs and rights. This paidocentric[1] interpretation of child labor has various practical implications, as in making out a case for a higher school age than 14 in order to keep children in school and out of industry during the period of early adolescence. Certain traits and tendencies peculiar to this period,

[1] "Paidocentric," a valuable word coined at Clark University, was frequently used by Dr. G. Stanley Hall, e. g., "Life and Confessions of a Psychologist," p. 519.

which with boys in general begins at about the age of 14 and with girls in general somewhat earlier, suggest not only that environmental conditions ought to be made as favorable as possible but also that special and unavoidable dangers attend employment even in the ordinary gainful occupations. Such adolescent traits as susceptibility to fatigue and physical overstrain, the awkwardness that leads to industrial accident, the restlessness that contributes to the child-labor turnover, and the tendency (noted by Dr. William Healy) toward erratic modes of behavior, constitute hazards which in combination with occupational hazards, render it questionable whether industrial life can ever be safe and suitable for boys and girls between 14 and 16 years of age.

There is no ignoring of the principle of individual cases in this proposition of raising the school age beyond 14—one of the chief legislative issues in a number of states. A large part of the demand for a higher minimum age for school-leaving and going-to-work comes from practitioners of vocational guidance, whose business it is to regard this principle. Their experience teaches them that, partly because of the limited occupational opportunities open to boys and girls of 14 and 15, and partly because of the psychological latency and flux of interests, aptitudes and capacities at this period, "little service can be rendered by the vocational adviser if children leave school before the age of 16." By remaining in school, if the school performs its functions as it should, children may be helped to an intelligent use of their energies and a

choice of work in harmony with proclivities and abilities. That the school should utilize the child's interest in the concrete and practical, and the interest in vocations that develops in early adolescence, turning them to educational advantage, goes without saying. If for some children a combination of schooling and industry be desirable, they should remain under the authority and supervision of the school while making the various adjustments (of which vocational adjustment is only one) incident to this critical time of life. The idea not merely of education for industry and life, but of industry and life for education, should be taken for guidance of social policy.

Child labor will never be abolished, but eventually it will disappear. Education will have taken its place. This education must be conceived in terms broad enough to include not only a suitable kind and amount of schooling, but also of play and work whether in or out of the school curriculum. Education is inclusive of all the things that children do in response to their needs of growth. Legal prohibitions and compulsions will always obtain in child-labor reform, but beyond these the future methodology will be characterized by the spirit of freedom, the technique of guidance, and the reality of self-direction. The child, in a suitable educational environment, will do what prohibitions and compulsions cannot do, and the transition from school to industry will be merely a phase of the educational and life continuum.

Child and education—these together are the paramount concern of child-labor reform and the indispensable means of social progress.

APPENDIX

TABLE I

Occupational Distribution of Massachusetts Continuation School Children, 1920—1921

Occupations in Which Continuation School Children Were Employed	Number of Children Employed in Specified Occupations		Percentage of Children Employed
Total	19,044		100.
Manufacturing	13,110		69.
Textile		7,467	39.
Others		5,643	30.
Non-manufacturing	5,934		31.
Stores		2,298	12.
Miscellaneous		3,636	19.

TABLE II

Principal Massachusetts Industries Employing Continuation School Children, 1920—1921

Industry	Number of Children Employed in Specific Industries			Percentage of Children Employed in Specific Industries
	Total	Boys	Girls	
Total	19,044	9,985	9,059	100.
Textiles	7,467	3,261	4,206	39.
Stores, such as Bakery Confectionery Clothing Department Dry Goods Grocery	2,298	1,415	883	12.
Leather goods, felt, leather and rubber shoes	2,130	1,468	662	11.
Candy manufacturing	574	90	484	3.
Printing and lithographing	512	366	146	3.
Others	6,063	3,385	2,678	32.

TABLE III

NUMBER AND PROPORTION OF CHILD EMPLOYEES IN CERTAIN INDUSTRIES OF MASSACHUSETTS (United States Census, 1920)

Industries Employing Children	Number of Children 10 to 15 Years Old Employed in Specified Industries	Per Cent of Child Employees to Total Employed in Specified Industries
Cotton mill operatives...	7,264	6.7
Silk mill operatives.....	353	6.8
Woolen and worsted mills	2,703	5.1
Clothing industry operatives	517	3.4
Shoe factory operatives..	3,314	3.7
Lumber and furniture industry	467	3.3
Clerks (not in stores)...	1,567	1.2
Salesmen and saleswomen	1,567	2.0
Newsboys	663	72.6
Messenger, bundle and office boys and girls...	3,030	48.9
Servants and waiters....	936	1.4

(The numbers employed under the last three classifications are greatly underestimated by the census.)

DANGEROUS TRADES FORBIDDEN BY THE LAWS OF MASSACHUSETTS TO CHILDREN UNDER THE AGE OF EIGHTEEN

Blast furnaces.

Hoisting machines.

Oiling or cleaning hazardous machinery in motion.

Polishing or buffing wheels.

Switch tending; gate tending; or track repairing.

Work as a brakeman, fireman, engineer, motorman or conductor upon a railroad or railway.

Work as a fireman or engineer upon any boat or vessel.
Operating motor vehicles of any description.
Establishments where gunpowder, nitro-glycerin, dynamite or other explosive is manufactured.
The manufacture of white or yellow phosphorus or phosphorus matches.

DANGEROUS TRADES FORBIDDEN BY THE LAWS OF MASSACHUSETTS TO CHILDREN UNDER THE AGE OF SIXTEEN

Circular or band saws, wood shapers, wood jointers, planers.
Picker machines, or machines used in picking wool, cotton, hair, or other material.
Paper lace machines, leather burnishing machines.
Job or cylinder printing presses operated by power other than foot power.
Stamping machines used in sheet metal and tinware or in paper or leather manufacturing, or in washer and nut factories.
Metal or paper cutting machines, corner staying machines in paper box factories.
Corrugating rolls such as are used in corrugated paper or in roofing or washboard factories.
Steam boilers, dough brakes, or cracker machinery of any description.
Wire or iron straightening or drawing machinery, rolling mill machinery.
Power punches or shears, washing or grinding or mixing machinery.
Calendar rolls in paper and rubber manufacturing or other heavy rolls driven by power.

Laundering machinery.
Dangerous electrical machinery or appliances.
Adjusting or assisting to adjust any hazardous belt to any machinery.
Oiling or cleaning hazardous machinery.
Near hazardous or unguarded belts, machinery or gearing in motion.
On scaffolding; heavy work in the building trades.
Stripping, assorting, manufacturing or packing tobacco.
In any tunnel.
Operating, cleaning, or repairing freight elevators.
Public bowling alley, or pool and billiard room.

The Department of Labor and Industries has power to add to these lists.

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